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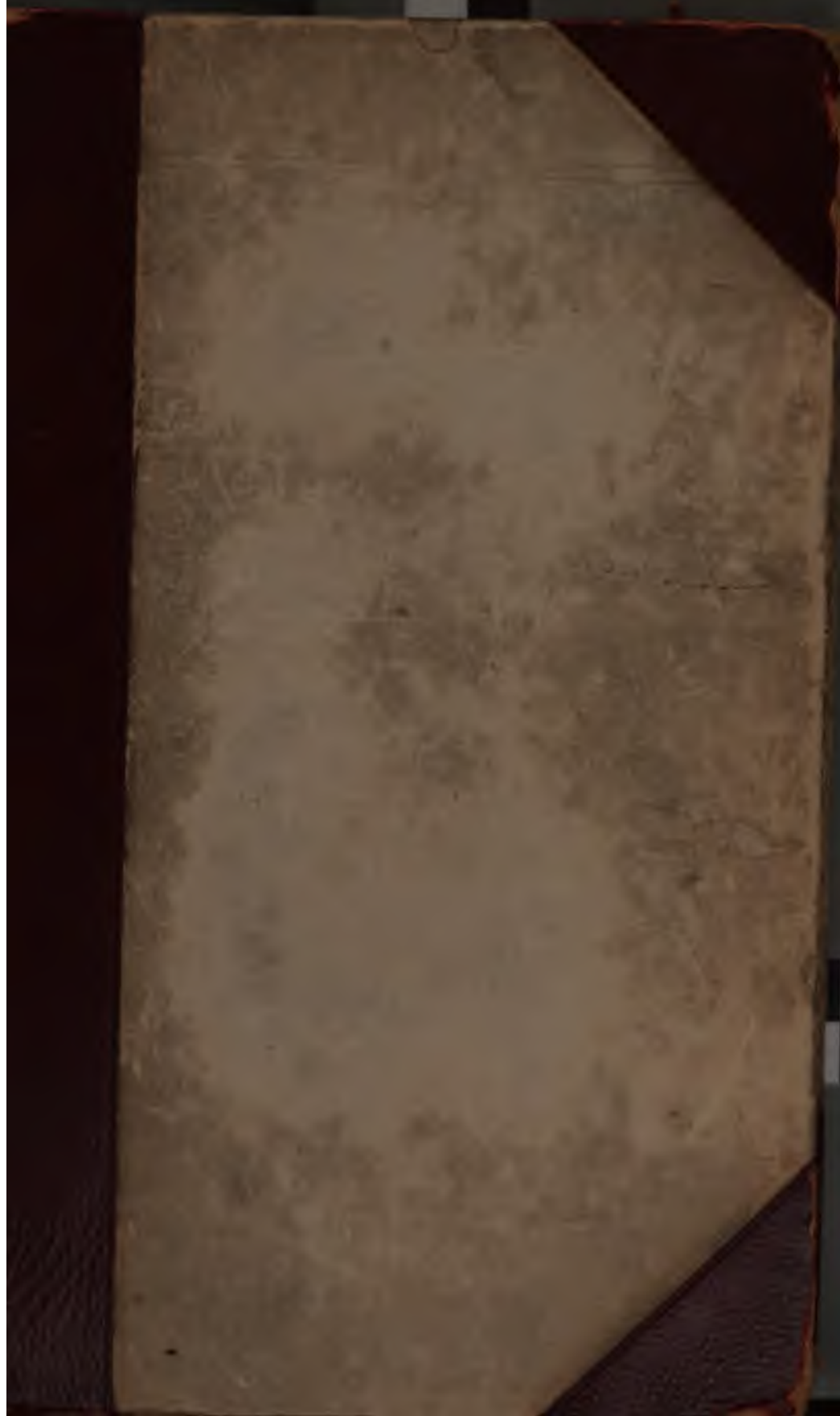
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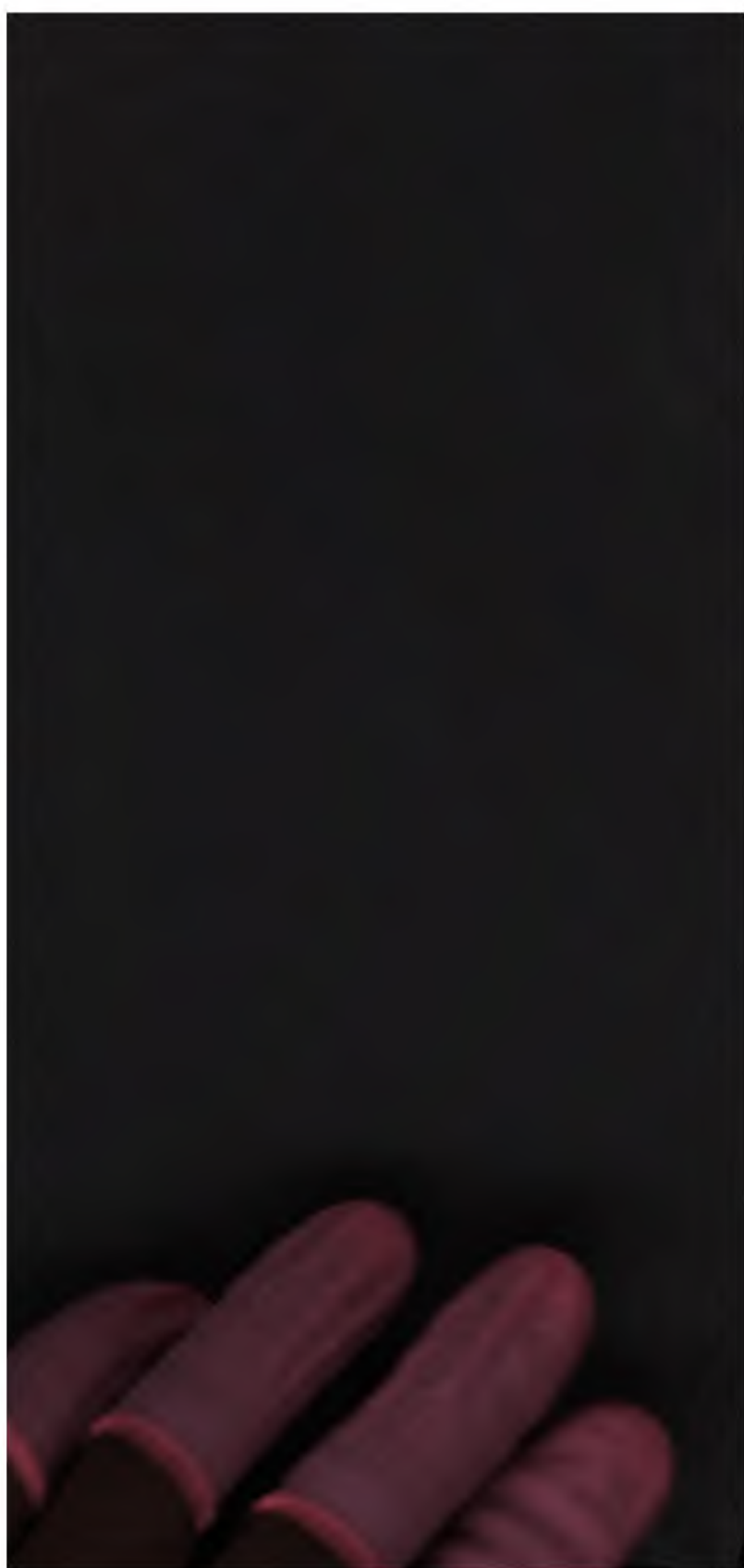
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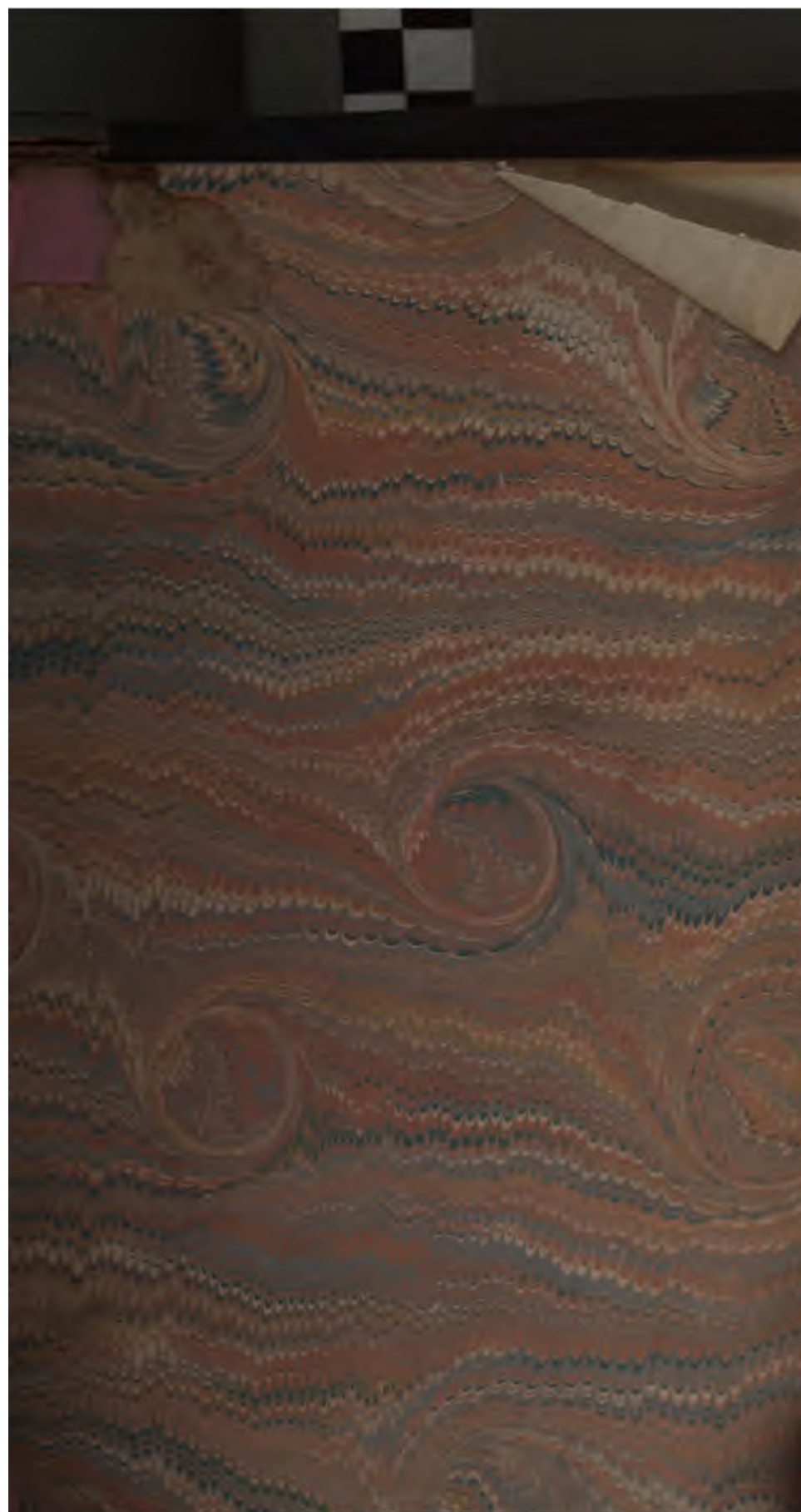
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MEMOIRS
OF
DON MANUEL DE GODOY,
&c. &c.



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Charles. IV.
King of Spain

Charles. IV.
Rey d'España



0 M E M O I R S

OF

DON MANUEL DE GODOY,

PRINCE OF THE PEACE,

DUKE DEL ALCUDIA, COUNT D'EVERAMONTE, &c.,

FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER OF THE KING OF SPAIN, GENERALISSIMO
OF HIS ARMIES, HIGH ADMIRAL, &c.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

EDITED, UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF HIS HIGHNESS,

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. B. D'ESMÉNARD.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

HISTORICAL & BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

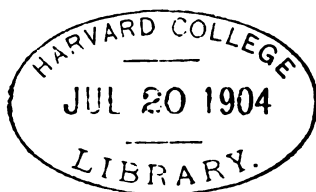
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Negotiations.—Alliance with the Republic.

WHILST these grave discussions engaged the council of state, circumstances were every day becoming more critical.

The conduct of the English was undisguisedly hostile. Despatches from America announced that they were assuming a menacing attitude at various important points of both continents; they were landing every where, minutely exploring the coast, and inundating the country with their merchandize, fraudulently introduced, and almost always by armed men. Their low prices seduced the colonists; and, what was not at first per-



ceived, the bales of printed cottons contained incendiary pamphlets, forged gazettes, and false statements, representing Spain as ready to give up to France a part of her possessions in the New World. Besides these attempts at moral subversion, they seized upon advantageous positions under false pretences, and it was evident that their ambition was directed to further encroachments.

Towards the north, their stations established in Missouri, and the energy with which they were fortifying them, created serious apprehension.

On the side of the Rio de la Plata, of Peru, and Chili, every intelligence brought also cause of alarm. At the Antilles the English adopted a different course: they endeavoured to sow dissension between France and us. They declared that peace with the Republic no longer subsisted. The governor of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, uncertain as to the wishes of his court, and alarmed by threats, was thinking of repelling the Republicans with aid of the English which was offered him. Being absolute masters in those seas, they assumed to themselves the most insulting right of search. There would be no end to it, were an enumeration made of all the violent and vexatious acts they practised against our sailors. Many of our merchants were ruined by sequestrations imposed on their goods and prolonged with a marked bad faith.

In Europe, in the Mediterranean, under our very eyes, the same conduct, the same insolence ; continual acts of hostility, without condescending to observe even the appearance of friendliness. A swarm of Anglo-Corsican pirates infested the coast of Catalonia,—no more safety for our trade. Corsica, in the hands of England, was to us a resort of robbers—another Algiers. Instead of imposing a curb upon this system of plunder, the ships belonging to the Royal Navy committed the like insult ; they did not even respect the vessels of the Spanish Government. They attacked our property upon the most frivolous pretences. I will cite an instance. They seized, without shame and contrary to all right, the Minerva frigate. Every thing that was entering, every thing that was leaving our harbours, they carried off, saying that it was French property.

The greater the insolence and injustice exercised by the English in their conduct towards us, the more earnestly did the Republic insist upon a treaty of alliance, and endeavour to obtain favourable terms. The negotiation proceeded languidly : at length the French minister received orders to declare that the substantial renewal of the treaty had not for its object to draw us into any continental war, nor to require from us any contingent whatsoever, still less to compromise us with other powers that were not our declared enemies. For this purpose, wishing to give entire security on the

subject to his Catholic Majesty, the Directory engaged to state the same formally in a secret article, the verbal expression of which should be left to the pleasure of the king. By this procedure the cabinet of Madrid could no longer doubt the intentions of the Directory. In this renewal of the family compact, it was intended merely to present the union of the two powers upon the same footing that had caused it to be respected in Europe in 1761. The belligerent powers would perceive that this alliance had the same scope and the same bearing as the former treaty : it must have been a further motive to induce them to make peace, and renounce all new coalitions which England was constantly endeavouring to bring about.

It was in fact known that she was making great efforts in the north of Europe, and on the shores of Italy.

It was well known to us that she was endeavouring to irritate the passions of the Muscovite cabinet to induce it to take part in the crusade against the Republic. This Colossus, pressing with all its weight upon the German States bordering on France, and which desired to remain neuter, must have compelled them to take part. However, besides the delicacy to be observed towards the Republic, the south had every interest to keep Russia at a distance, to ward off her domineering influence, and prevent the barbarians of the north



from acquiring a taste for the pleasures of climes more favoured of Heaven. Spain, even, could not look upon herself as so far free from the consequences of a continental war as not to apprehend an invasion on the side of Portugal, a weak kingdom, and always swayed by the impulses of England. The cabinet of St. James's, amongst the plans it was ever devising against France, had formed one of sending a British army to Lisbon, for the purpose of compelling Spain, in spite of her inclination, to join in the coalition : a fatal determination, and tending to render our beautiful country the theatre of a devastating war ; since in that case France would certainly have insisted on a free passage for her armies, either as auxiliary or principal, in order to make head against the storm, and protect her own frontier. The Directory did not regard such a landing in Portugal as an impending occurrence, but it was informed that the English cabinet had made the proposal to the Czarina, at the same time offering her a harbour—a trading port—in the Mediterranean. The name of the Belearic Isles had even been uttered. This was too seductive a bait not to awaken the natural ambition of the Empress Catherine ; and the project might have been effected sooner or later, if Spain should have appeared in the eyes of Europe abandoned to her solitary neutrality. An excessive moderation prevented our having friends ; and our disinterestedness seemed like a confession of our

weakness; and thus, from day to day Spain would have found herself assailed by unexpected and formidable enemies. The ostensible renewal of the ancient family compact would put an end to all similar projects, when it should be seen that the two united nations were ready to repel their enemies in common; and the cabinet of Lisbon, brought to a stand by the warlike attitude of Spain, would no longer listen to the rash insinuations of that of St. James's.¹ It was above all important

¹ These fears of an Anglo-Russian expedition to Portugal were not a fiction invented by the Directory. It is clearly averred that in September 1795, a triple alliance was contracted between Russia, England, and Austria,—a celebrated negotiation, of which the second coalition was the consequence. Strengthened by this treaty, the English did not yet cease to form plans for expeditions upon different points of the Continent, in order to divide the force and the attention of the Republic. One of these plans consisted in transporting to Portugal an Anglo-Russian army, and thus to make the Peninsula a base of attack against France. The Spanish Cabinet had secret information of this from the Portuguese Government itself; and I am bound to acknowledge, that it was heartily opposed to this foreign invasion; but, at the same time, it announced that if the Anglo-Russian forces should present themselves in great numbers, it was not in a condition to repel them. I kept the secret, under an apprehension that the French Government might seize this pretence for sending troops against Portugal. However, the Directory must have received the same intelligence through its agents at Copenhagen; and, therefore, it insisted so strenuously upon the renewal of the ancient family compact, or an offensive and defensive alliance. In my opinion, had even the Anglo-Russian expedition taken place, it would have been better for us to make head alone, rather than borrow assistance from without, at all times a dangerous expedient. For many

to prevent delay on the subject of this negotiation, which had been lingering so many months. England alone gained by it; in the first place, she gave hopes to her partizans in Spain; secondly, she postponed the results that must have followed the co-operation of the fleets of France and Holland. This latter power was employing incredible energy in regard

ages Portugal has been to us a fatal stumbling-block. If, under any circumstances, it would have been advisable to revive our old claims to that kingdom, and to take possession of it at all cost, and without any delicacy, it was at that very moment, when the fierce struggle between France and England exposed to the least practised eyes the weakness of Portugal, and the equivocal system she was following with regard to England. But it was never possible to make Charles IV. entertain this impression. Too late, and to his misfortune, he discovered the truth; and not without useless regret at having been so paternal and so scrupulous. Happily, for this time the danger passed by of itself. It did not escape the penetration of the Directory; and the Empress Catherine did not dare detach a part of her troops, for fear of being disturbed by the Ottoman Porte, with which power France had succeeded in re-establishing her former union. Three years afterwards Paul I. was tempted to adopt the projects of the English minister. The gross and extravagant manifesto of this monarch, the whimsical originality of which was spread abroad by England, proved to what extent English influence had impressed him against us. The disasters of his army in Switzerland and Holland, prevented his attempting any further adventures in our direction. Naples alone was condemned to undergo the presence of the Russians and Turks, not to mention her other calamities. After these events, the autocrat was seen suddenly to change his views, to abandon the coalition, reject England, and shew himself favourable to France. He wished to place himself at the head of a maritime confederacy against English tyranny. . . . and died by assassination.

to her navy ; and the Directory was no less energetic in restoring the navy of France. If Spain should unite heartily in these noble efforts, the combined squadrons of the three nations might perhaps re-establish the liberty of the seas, effectively protect the colonies, and contribute more than by any other means to a general peace, of which all the world was desirous.

These numerous instances of cajolery and promise did not, however, make me proceed faster in this important negotiation. I would not expose the monarchy to doubtful hazards, nor to ulterior discussions with the Republic of France. The Directory was pressing for the conclusion of the treaty, and especially to be seconded in the struggle with England. I availed myself of this disposition, of which I was perfectly aware, to insist, on my side, on those precautions which it was necessary to provide against all after-thoughts, and not to be drawn ultimately into the wars of the Continent. Under this view, and with the approbation of the King and the unanimous satisfaction of the council, I transmitted to citizen Perignon a note bearing the ultimatum of our court. It was conceived nearly in these terms :—

1st. The express, firm, and decided will of his Catholic Majesty, is to contract an alliance between the two governments, against the common enemy who tyrannizes over the seas, and envenoms the politics of Europe. All the resentments which

gave rise to the war from 1793 to 1795 are forgotten. The King only beholds in France the ancient friend and ally of Spain : he is therefore ready to assent to all approaches that may favour the reciprocal interests of both nations, without any other limitations than those which honour and a just reciprocity prescribe it as his duty to adopt in relation to powers hitherto his allies, and which may not show themselves hostile to Spain.

2d. On this subject, H.C.M. saw with satisfaction, that the Directory rendered full justice to the loyal sentiments by which he was actuated, and which have regulated his political conduct. The King was thoroughly convinced of the loyalty of the Government of the Republic, and of its intention not to alter, either directly or indirectly, the basis upon which his Majesty had proposed to negotiate with relation to the common interests of France and Spain, without in any manner interfering with the rigorous neutrality of the latter power towards those states which were at peace with her.

3d. Although the Directory, faithful to the intentions which it had nobly manifested, consented to insert them in a secret and supplementary article, it is not the less evident that, notwithstanding this guarantee, the delicacy of his Catholic Majesty would be compromised with regard to the other powers which are on friendly terms with Spain : in fact, the renewal of the ancient family compact

would place H.C.M. in a kind of attitude eventually hostile towards those very powers to which this limiting article should remain a secret, the said powers not being then in a condition to know that the declared articles were modified. In truth, the secret article would be every way proper and available, in the sense that the Government of the Republic was not to require the co-operation of H.C.M. against the powers mentioned. But this clandestine clause would not destroy the idea that they might, according to appearances, form to themselves respecting the real sentiments of H.C.M., whose immutable rule it ever was, and ever will be, never to separate morality from politics, nor even to appear to have done so.

4th. The treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, now under consideration, being to be restricted to the maritime war with Great Britain, and the other powers against whom Spain has no complaint being excepted, these latter would be inspired with perfect confidence in the rectitude and moderation of the Spanish Cabinet ; and this would preserve to H.C.M. the character of a mediator, which from the commencement the French Government were desirous that he should maintain—a character which the King has already successfully employed, and which, influencing the south of Europe, as the like character on the part of the King of Prussia was influencing the north, would give to the Republic a double advantage,

in the concurrence of two sovereigns of the first rank disposed to labour powerfully to bring about a general pacification.

5th. If H. C. M. should withdraw, or, which comes to the same thing, should appear to withdraw by the said treaty from his neutrality towards the belligerent powers of the Continent, and if Spain should appear to make common cause with France against all her enemies, the English ministry would be furnished with a specious motive for determining those powers to declare war against us ; and then, far from opposing any obstacle to the plan of an expedition to the coast of Portugal, it would be adding a new stimulus, which would excite Russia to undertake the expedition,—since, being in alliance with Austria and England, she might believe herself in a state of eventual hostility with Spain.

6th. As regards this danger, so long as Spain observed this strict neutrality towards non-offending powers, H. C. M. viewed as alike both improbable and absurd the design of attacking her territory on the side of Portugal ; and if such an act of military extravagance should take place, Spain would be amply prepared to repel and baffle it in an exemplary manner ; the government of the King and the entire nation would avenge it with the greater rigour, as the country was at the time at the summit of its wishes, being at peace and in complete harmony with the Republic:

7th. This happy disposition of his subjects permitted H. C. M. to affirm, that the public opinion was generally favourable to the maintenance of peace with France ; but that this disposition might change if, besides the war with Great Britain, generally considered just and necessary under the circumstances, the subjects of H.C.M. should have reason to fear that the friendship of the Republic might draw them into a continental war, and into other sacrifices beyond the charges of naval armaments ; that such a mistaken opinion might arise on the bare reading of the ostensible articles of the treaty of alliance, as proposed by the Directory. How could this apprehension in men's minds be tranquillized whilst the limiting and supplementary article remained unknown ? The best guarantee for the strict and sincere union which H.C.M. desired should prevail between the two nations consisted in the happy agreement of the public will with the system of government ; without this agreement, the King could not answer for the maintenance of the desired alliance, the less so as the secret intrigues of England would not fail to suggest sinister ideas ; and the subjects of the King would consent with reluctance to sacrifices in aid of a continental war against powers that had given us no motive to break our existing relations with them.

8th. The well-understood commercial interest of both France and Spain required that the latter

should preserve a perfect neutrality with regard to the other nations of the Continent; the losses and injuries inevitable in a maritime war with England, would be balanced by the benefits of trade with the other nations of Europe, and France under the neutral flag of Spain would obtain an indirect means of carrying on her own trade; whereas if, by the tenour of the treaty proposed by the Directory, Spain were exposed to be ever treated as an enemy, both nations, French and Spanish, would alike suffer, without any species of compensation.

9th. Lastly. In order to remove all apprehension on the side of Portugal, H.C.M. would redouble his representations and efforts with the Government of Lisbon, to induce it to shake off the yoke of England, or at least to cause it to adopt a sincere and frank system of neutrality towards the Republic; in the condition of uncertainty in which the fear of the vengeance of England kept Portugal, this is all that it was perhaps possible to obtain, at that period, from the Portuguese Government.

To these observations I added, that H.C.M. would willingly consent that the treaty of alliance should contain substantially those articles of the ancient family compact which were considered compatible with existing circumstances, but would at the same time persist in demanding certain stated restrictions or modifications. The King

desired that the restrictive and explanatory article should be declared and published like the rest of the treaty. This condition once accepted, the good faith of H. C. M. evinced, and his subjects fully assured on this point, the King would with pleasure sign this solemn act, being persuaded that it would prove the basis of a lasting and sincere friendship between the two nations, whose mutual interests would thus be guaranteed.

This note was sent to Paris. Whether from conviction, the desire of mortifying the English cabinet, or the firmness with which I declared to the ambassador that no other basis would on any pretext be accepted, the cabinet of the Luxembourg subscribed to the condition that *the restrictive article should be published with the rest of the treaty*, merely asking as an act of condescension on our part, that the article should be so drawn up that the exception might appear to be limited to a neutrality towards those powers that were then actually non-offensive towards Spain, in order that it might not be inferred by the enemies of France that Spain would remain neuter in any ulterior war, which would render the alliance altogether illusory. This point settled, and in order that the cabinet of Madrid might not fear to become compromised by the secrecy of the article relative to any eventual wars, the Directory gave an extension of power to their ambassador and



minister plenipotentiary, by virtue of which a reserved declaration was made on both sides, stating that the treaty of alliance should be obligatory only for the maritime war against Great Britain. The two governments were to unite their efforts, and lend each other mutual support. In every other case, and against every other power, a new agreement was to be entered into, special, free, and voluntary, as regarded each government.

Thus the Directory, with honourable frankness, met our scruples, and fully satisfied them. I can affirm to the honour of truth, that if the Directory ever appeared loyal, sincere, and accommodating, it did so incontestably with regard to Spain. I gave an account to H.C.M. of the state of the negotiation; all was examined and approved in the council; I received orders to sign the treaty. The act was concluded at St. Ildefonso, the 18th August 1796, nearly thirteen months after the treaty of Basle. The articles were drawn up in the forms constantly observed in offensive and defensive alliances, with the reciprocal guarantee of the states of both the contracting parties.²

The restrictive article was thus expressed: "England being the only power from which Spain has received direct offence, this alliance shall have effect against her in the present war,

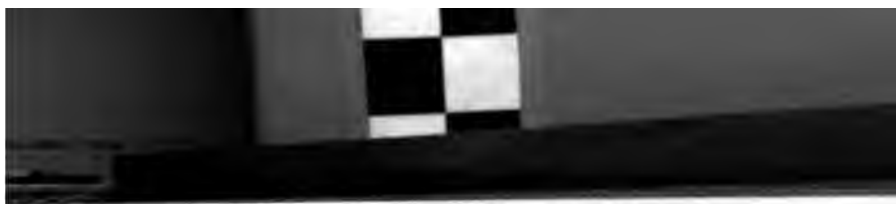
² This treaty is literally copied amongst the explanatory documents, No. 3.

and Spain shall remain neutral relatively to the other powers which are at war with the Republic.”³

All being settled and concluded, war was declared against England on the 18th of August 1796, and the treaty of alliance with France a month and some days afterwards. The negotiations had lasted eight months without any thing being definitively settled with the Republic. It was the conduct of England that obliged the Government to adopt this resolution.⁴

³ They who, on first reading this, the 18th article, may find it in contradiction with the preceding articles, will readily clear up the difficulty after the statement I have just given of this important negotiation.

⁴ The manifesto of the Spanish Court is amongst the explanatory documents, No. 4.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

Motives and Justification of the Alliance with the French
Republic.


THE treaty of St. Ildefonso is much more the work of the council of the crown than mine. It was approved and sanctioned by every statesman in the country ; it was for a long time regarded as the palladium of peace between Spain and France ; it saved the country. After my secession from the ministry, and my retirement from court, this treaty was observed and maintained, to the great vexation of England, by all my successors. The ties of friendship with France were drawn still closer than I could myself have wished. This treaty, I repeat, saved us much evil and did us much good. . . . It was, nevertheless, fourteen years afterwards, the common text of my enemies for assailing my character.

I shall not appeal to the vote of the council of state, which demanded an alliance still more explicit and of longer duration, nor to the recollections of those who so often gave thanks to the Government for having procured them the advantages of it, nor to the authority of those who, after myself, adopted the same system. I consent that

the treaty of alliance should be my own work ; I accept all the responsibility.

The Abbé Muriel has said that *this alliance was shameful*. According to him, two years before (in March 1794), when it was proposed by Count D'Aranda, it was a master-stroke of policy, when we must have begged France to grant it us, when we must have negotiated with men, whose crimes excited horror, and whose very touch left an indelible stain.

Afterwards we treated with France when she had a government more regular, more moderate, and better established, and then " it is a tardy, shameful transaction." Will M. Muriel say on what he founds his injurious qualification ? Things were equal on both sides, the obligations reciprocal, and if the balance inclined on one side, was it not on that of Spain ? Read the exception declared in the 18th article, by which we refused all assistance to the Republic in its wars with the Continent. Spain had but a single enemy ; this was England ; and France assisted us in combating her. France had several, and we were not obliged to aid her except against England, which was our enemy. To whom then was the bargain advantageous ? Who made the first approaches, the first proposals ? Which of the two powers begged the other to accede ? France. Besides, she modified, she limited her pretensions. Where, then, is the shame to Spain ?



Let us pass on to General Foy, or rather to those who have spoken for him after his death. “The Prince of the Peace was not at all friendly to the French; and far from being favourable to the revolution, he seemed rather to incline towards England. He would have wished to remain at peace with all the world, but, forced to choose between two rival powers, he preferred to decide for that which gave more immediate security for his tranquillity, his pleasures, his power, and the dishonour of his masters.”¹

It is difficult to believe that a Frenchman—above all, a general, in whom the national spirit shone forth with so much splendour—should have written these latter words. To say that a prince has dishonoured himself by an alliance with France—for a Frenchman, it is to esteem but little his country!

Whosoever may be the writer to whom I am replying, it will be enough for me to tell him: if it was to secure my tranquillity, my pleasures, the favour of the court, that I preferred amity with France, why did I not prefer that amity during three years?—why had I chosen war, when I had only to agree in the opinion of Count D’Aranda, so strongly pronounced for peace, and thus place my policy under the protection and guardianship of that old and famed diplomatist? The contest with England offered, according to your account, less danger

¹ Histoire de la Guerre de la Peninsule, tom. iii.

to Spain, but did it require less to be done?—did it impose less responsibility on him who had to answer for, and who, in fact, did answer for the preservation of our vast possessions in the two Worlds? During peace as during war, was it permitted to those who were charged with the government to sleep away their time in pleasures or wanton indolence? In the midst of the shocks which made Europe totter, so long as I was at the head of affairs, did Spain experience the smallest concussion?—did she lose the smallest portion of her immense inheritance?—such were my leisure moments, my enjoyments, my pastimes. Yes, the hours of the day were insufficient; often was I obliged to employ the best part of the night. I appeal to the testimony of the men of knowledge and experience whom I consulted for information, and who participated with me in the cares and anxieties of mind inseparable from so thorny a situation. There remain but few of my noble fellow-labourers, the associates of my work, who saw what was done in those days and what has been done since. But there do yet exist a few; let them not fear to raise their voices. I appeal to what they shall say: they will not falsify their character. Is not the time then come to speak out without disguise, and to render to every one the justice that is his due?

I shall now proceed to grapple with the Archbishop de Pradt. One might say that he has been paid to embroil the question, and to drown the

truth in a deluge of captious phrases devoid of sense. His inconceivable ignorance upon all that regards Spain, has it been studiously affected ; or is the historical knowledge of M. de Pradt really so shallow ? This is the way in which he speaks of the treaty of alliance.

It is not without trouble that I have translated

From the text of M de Pradt.

From the reconciliation between the two countries to an alliance between them is but a short step. Spain gave up a part of St. Domingo, as useless to France in the state of her colonies, as it was burdensome. The ancient family compact was re-established under the aspects that appeared to concern the policy alone of the two nations ; but Spain did not perceive the inferiority of her share in the transaction ; for she had to uphold the revolution even more than France. The latter was fighting to confirm the revolution ; consequently Spain, by renewing the treaty styled the 'family compact,' undertook to uphold at once France and her revolution, and to fight for the one at the

these involved phrases, every word of which is either a mistake or an absurdity. France and Europe have been inundated with M. de Pradt's pamphlets. Some people have taken for perspicuity the imperturbable assurance with which he has dashed over state affairs : others have censured severely the ignorance which he evinces on every occasion, the doctrines of personal interest he professes, and, in short, the paradoxes that swarm throughout his writings.

I shall shew that he has no right to complain of the latter.

same time that she was fighting for the other; whereas France had to uphold no positive interest of Spain, since Spain had no enemy on the continent, and England, the only one she had at sea, could not be assailed by France.

He says that the family compact was renewed between the French republic and Spain. M. de Pradt has read neither the old nor the latter treaty. If he has read them, he has de-

ceived himself, or he wishes to deceive his readers: and this is a bishop, who is writing history!

The following are the differences subsisting between the two transactions:

Art. 1st, of the family compact:—The Most Christian King and the Catholic King undertake to regard henceforward as the enemy of both, every power that shall declare itself the enemy of either of the two crowns.

Art. 4. It is laid down as a principle, that whosoever attacks one of the two crowns shall be held to have attacked the other; therefore it is stipulated that they shall reciprocally aid each other with the totality of their forces, the mode being undefined; the contingents fixed by Articles 5 and 6 were but a first succour, or, so to speak, a draft upon the totality of the forces eventually pledged.

Art. 8. The only wars to a co-operation in which Spain is not bound, are those in which his Christian Majesty may be obliged to take a part in consequence of his engagements contracted by

the treaty of Westphalia ; or any others with the powers of Germany ; and, nevertheless, it was added, that if the results of the war became such that the soil of France should be invaded, the Catholic King should march to the assistance of his ally with the maximum of the forces stipulated in the preceding articles.

Art. 17 : Stating that whether at peace or at war, the two kingdoms should be considered as constituting only one and the same power.

Art. 18. The respective subjects of the three powers, France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies, shall be on the same footing with the natives of each of the three kingdoms as regards all civil matters.

Finally, by Art. 25, it is said that the subjects of the three powers above-mentioned shall be treated in the harbours of each of them like the natives of the country, with an absolute inhibition to grant a like privilege to other nations.

These, then, are the stipulations made in the family compact, at the time when the distinguished Count D'Aranda enjoyed the highest influence in all the affairs of state.

All these articles were erased from the treaty which I signed ; a simple and entirely new treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, according to the ordinary rules, but restricted by a wise and rigid policy to the war with England alone.

This slight view of the exorbitant articles of the family compact suffices to shew that they were all

omitted in the treaty of St. Ildefonso, the 18th Article of which I will here repeat. " England being the only power from which Spain has received direct offence, this alliance shall have effect only against her in the present war, and Spain shall remain neutral with regard to the other powers that are at war with the Republic."

What means then this obscure and ill-constructed phrase of M. de Pradt : " Spain had to uphold the revolution, even more than France. The latter was fighting to confirm the revolution. Consequently, Spain, by renewing the treaty of the family compact, undertook to uphold at once France and her revolution, and to fight for the one at the same time that she was fighting for the other."

I have now shewn, by the very text of the two treaties, that there was no renewing of the family compact ; that the treaty of St. Ildefonso was a simple convention of alliance offensive and defensive against England, for the common and reciprocal interest of France and Spain. To combat the maritime tyranny of England with the aid of France ; was that to combat for the French revolution ? No : that revolution was a fact achieved. Spain had frankly warred against it ; much more than England had done ; and without any views of ambition or selfish interest, as long as there was any hope of arresting it by force of arms. She retired from no danger, from no sacrifice, and made peace only when it

was demonstrable that war was a prime encouragement, stimulating the ardour of the Republicans, and giving more force to their government. As a sovereign power, free to choose her political system, Spain accepted peace. This peace was not a truce, an artifice, nor a servile condescension. In withdrawing from the coalition, as Prussia and so many other states of Europe had done, she preserved her independence. She desired, at the same time, to remain at peace with the other powers hostile to the Republic, without excepting even England, of whom she had so much to complain; a noble and dignified neutrality, within the limits of which Spain confined herself with admirable sincerity. Who compelled her to quit this inoffensive position? Who urged her to the foot of the precipice, and drove her to the necessity of joining her arms to those of France? England. Against what power hostile to France was Spain pledged by this treaty? Against England, who compromised her, who sought to oppress her, who insulted her by sea, and threatened to attack her colonies. For more than a year Spain bore these multiplied injuries.

“It was but a step from the treaty of Basle to that of St. Ildefonso,” falsely states M. de Pradt, with his wonted levity. It was a thousand leagues from the one transaction to the other. All gentle measures were exhausted; remonstrances equally so; every offer was made of guarantees to avoid

the rupture : nothing succeeded. England would never consent to respect our neutrality. There was no other course to be taken than that of uniting with France and Holland. Undertaken by ourselves alone, the war would have been too unequal. We were obliged to have recourse to France. The interest at stake was similar for both ; at the same time it was more pressing on our side, great as to Spain, immense as to our colonies. We turned towards France, as we should have done towards any other power that had the same interests, and the same grievances to be redressed.

If, by the words *uphold the revolution*, M. de Pradt means that we upheld the principles and doctrines of the French Republic, the accusation is unjust and false. Spain did not approve those principles and doctrines ; she never dreamt of defending them ; she was not the enemy of the enemies of the Republic : she took no part in her wars of ambition or of principles. If to treat with Republican France, recognized as such by a crowd of other governments,² consolidated by four years of victory and by gigantic triumphs, was to treat and make alliance with the revolution, then must all connexions be renounced, all political interests with nations which recognize other forms of govern-

² Tuscany, Naples, Parma, Rome, Genoa, Sardinia, Switzerland, Venice, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, the Ottoman Porte, Russia, and many other States of the empire.

ment, or which entertain other religious creeds. In the view taken by M. de Pradt, it would not be allowable, at the present day any more than in the middle ages, to treat with infidels, for instance with the Ottoman Porte ; M. de Pradt would say it was to uphold the Coran and reject the Gospel. In these involved insinuations of the Archbishop of Mechlin, do we not perceive a bit of the ear, or rather of the cassock ? Is not this the policy of the vestry ? The almoner of the god Mars had to do with consciences less timorous. The scruples of the theologian should have become less delicate in the warlike train of Napoleon. And why did he not take the pains to judge my system by the facts ? He would have seen, that of all the powers bordering upon France, Spain was the one which contended with the greatest skill and success against that revolution, fatal to so many other countries, and so innocuous to ours.

The grand coalition of the north of Europe had not been able to extinguish the volcano of which France was the focus—a volcano profound and terrible, and which, for thirty years, has not ceased to ferment and produce consternation in the world by its frequent irruptions.

I was, however, fortunate enough, so long as my enemies did not succeed in violently thrusting me from the post confided to my charge,—I was, I say, fortunate enough to preserve my country from the conflagration. What I had not been able to bring

about by force of arms, my wise policy effected. Bayonets and cannon could do little against the seductions and secret proceedings of the Propaganda. The shock of arms attracted and served this Propaganda. I treated frankly and amicably with the men who were armed with the revolutionary thunder, and my country was spared. At the same time, I betrayed none of our foreign friends ; my policy injured no power, and was serviceable to many. Spain, at that epoch, was the power that France treated with the greatest delicacy. We were not her allies for the purpose of defending or aiding the revolutionists ; our mediation twice saved Rome and Parma. In all the wars that devastated the Continent, was ever a single Spaniard seen under the colours of the Republic ? We were united with France against England only, who desired, at all events, to precipitate us into a disastrous struggle, in which so many states miserably perished.

France, our ally, redoubled her attentions towards us ; no one saw planted in Spain that deceitful tree, whose intoxicating fruits were but a dangerous poison. Spanish loyalty had not to contend against the seductions of the missionaries, the apostles, and the magicians of a sect the enemy of thrones. The formidable Propaganda received orders to stop at the Pyrenees, and not to pass them. It is not after the event that I come forward to make boast of my fore-

sight ; no, the aim and scope of my policy were known at the time : few were mistaken in it ; M. de Pradt was of the number of these : I shall only cite for his instruction a passage from M. Thiers, a more faithful, and above all, a better-informed historian.*

“ The sentiments of the court of Spain,” says this author, “ were not, could not, be favourable to the Republicans ; but its policy, directed by the Prince of the Peace, appeared kindly towards them. It regarded their friendship as the most certain mode of being protected against their principles ; it believed, and with reason, that the French Government would not endeavour to revolutionize Spain, so long as it found in her a potent auxiliary in the maritime war.”

M. Thiers had judged correctly.

It remains to be seen if it was France only that obtained advantages from the alliance with Spain against England. Was this alliance a sacrifice on our part, or a treaty of reciprocal interest ? Was the interest of Spain favoured as much, or more, than that of France ? Let us put the question more precisely : was our alliance with the Republic useful to Spain ? I shall prove that it was useful, and that we gained much more by it than France.

* Hist. de la Révolution Française, tom. ix. chap. xii.

CHAPTER XXXV.


Friendly and honourable Conduct of the French Republic, which observes religiously the Treaties of Basle and St. Ildefonso.

I BELIEVE I have sufficiently explained the motives which determined us at first to make peace, and then a treaty of alliance with the French Republic; it is proved that this alliance, useful to both nations, was especially so to Spain.

It was pretended that this treaty reduced us to a state of servitude; that the direction and employment of our forces being at the mercy of France, the latter disposed of them arbitrarily, according to her interest or her caprice.

In truth, if in relation to the interchange of good offices on both sides, one of the two nations had a right to complain, it was France. Any other government, less desirous of conciliating us, would not have failed to accuse us of indifference or selfishness. The French Republic, in general so exclusive and imperious, chose to make an exception in our favour.

In the very first days of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, the Directory met with an obstacle in our cabinet in every claim, however humble; I will



say more, to certain claims which were not rigidly just, but which the mutual interests of France and Spain, or considerations of policy, rendered very plausible. Here is one proof among many : I shall cite a fact very notorious at the time, at present probably forgotten.

The declaration of war and the treaty of St. Ildefonso, of which England had no knowledge, were published. On this intelligence, the British forces immediately quitted the Mediterranean. Sir John Jervis retired towards Gibraltar, rather to watch than to attack the squadrons of Toulon and Cadiz, which were about to form a junction at the latter point, and which were three times as strong as his own. Jervis was under the impossibility of sending succours to Portugal before the arrival of the reinforcements which he was expecting. The first enterprise of which the French Government entertained the idea (and it strongly inclined to it) was to attempt a coup de main against the English established at Oporto and on the coast of Lisbon. In fact, the Cadiz and Toulon squadrons having joined, nothing was easier than to force the entrance to the Tagus, advance upon the capital, and compel the surrender of all the merchant ships, with the immense magazines that covered the whole coast of the kingdom. Certainly Admiral Jervis had no means to oppose it; a similar operation could have been effected at the mouth of the Douro :

it would have been a mortal blow to the British interests: it would have been sufficient to overthrow, to lay prostrate, that pitiless cabinet. I refused to lend myself to the project. I committed, perhaps, a great fault. I sacrificed policy to morality. Scrupulously attached to the text of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, I did not think that, either directly or indirectly, under the pretence of attacking the common enemy, it was allowable to join Spanish troops to French, upon the territory of a people who were not enemies of Spain. Unquestionably my scruples admitted of being combated; it was a doubtful question. The Directory had good reasons to advance; I stood upon a single one. I said that the invasion of a neutral state, as was Portugal in regard to us, a country governed by a king who was united to the court of Madrid by intimate family relations, would afflict Charles IV., and would disgust him with the alliance just contracted with the Republic. The French Government insisted no further, and by this strict application of the principle established in the treaty, the 18th Article acquired ever after an incontestable authority. Collisions were no longer to be feared with our friends, not even with those who were so but slightly, and in appearance.

Still the conduct of Portugal, always under the influence of England, was not that of a friend to Spain. There existed only an apparent peace

between us, and nothing more. I experience no sort of vanity at this triumph obtained through me on this occasion. I believed I was fulfilling a duty in sacrificing material interests to Spanish honour. This fact sufficiently shews that our alliance with the Republic had nothing servile in it: let my enemies produce others, if they can, to prove the contrary. I defy them. Even in those enterprizes, for which, by the tenor of the treaty, we were obliged to furnish assistance to the Republic, the Directory was moderate in its demands, and Spain still more reserved in her disposition to accede to them. I speak not merely of the period at which I was at the head of the cabinet: the French Government observed the same moderation with my successors after my retreat from the ministry and the court. Spain furnished no assistance to France in her expeditions against Ireland, nor did she concur in any respect in that against Egypt. . . . See, however, which of the two powers gained the most profit. The attention of England was called to defend her own shores; and whilst she was exhausting her resources in combating the French in Africa, we were enabled to watch over the safety of our colonies, and to receive our galleons: we traversed in freedom all the seas that bathe the dominions of Spain.

On what occasion, either by land or by sea, have we served as instruments in the hands of the Republic? Twice did the Directory (in 1797 and

1798) advance the right to see our troops and their own marching together against Portugal, or at least to be allowed free passage to invade it with their own forces. The Spanish cabinet refused both the one and the other with firmness and dexterity: our mediation was accepted; an advantageous peace concluded at Paris secured the repose of Portugal; but her government, always ruled by England, and lured by her promises, would not ratify the treaty. What must have been the irritation of the Directory! The Portuguese minister was at first thrown into prison.¹ The French Government, persuaded that Spain must have participated in the resentment, resolved to carry the war at once to Lisbon; and for this purpose, would await neither our concurrence nor our approbation. Several divisions of troops destined for this campaign were collected in the Western Pyrenees. General Augereau was recalled from Germany to take the command of them. The fact is well known. But the Spanish cabinet again refused to allow a passage to the French army. It undertook the charge of arranging matters, without coming to the last extremity. The Directory was again willing to give way on this occasion. It is, nevertheless, to be remarked, that Portugal, the eternal stumbling-block to Spain, always ungrateful and ill-advised, never renounced her system of hostility, more or less disguised, against France

¹ The Temple.

and against ourselves ; and France consented to imitate our indulgence towards her. Thus much for Portugal.

Neither must it be allowed to remain unknown, how great was the respect paid by the Directory to the recommendation of Charles IV. in favour of the houses of Parma and Naples. The Pope was twice saved through the intervention of Spain whilst I was in the ministry : the first time in 1796, the period of the treaty of Bologna ; the second, the year following, when the Holy Father, having again thrown himself into the fatal war of Italy, was compelled to subscribe the treaty of Tolentino.*

Shall it be said that the Directory had some interest in maintaining the temporal power and the spiritual influence of the Vicar of J. C. ? It is known, on the contrary, that the French Government would rather have seen the downfall of this Colossus, which gave it umbrage in consequence of its influence over the consciences of Catholic nations. It is also known with what prejudice, and with what fanaticism of a new species, the theophilanthropist, La Révellière, then a member of the

* The third and last misfortune experienced by Pius VI., the 15th February 1796, was the result of the insurrection of the Romans, springing out of contradictory accidents, and which allowed no time for negotiation either on the one side or the other. If the government of the Holy Father had profited by the wise councils of our minister Azara, the pontifical throne might have been saved for the third time.

Directory, had determined to destroy the ancient Roman ritual.

All these obstacles disappeared. What was the part of Spain in this fortunate result? Here is Bonaparte's letter to our ambassador at Rome, Don Joseph Nicolas de Azara :—

“ The mediation and the good offices of H. C. M. the King of Spain have produced the effect you desired. You will find enclosed the articles of the treaty of peace concluded, two hours since, between the Republic and the Pope. I regret that circumstances did not allow you to assist at the definitive conclusion of the treaty. It is eight months since you saved Rome by the amnesty of Bologna. Had our advice been followed, it would not have been exposed to the dangers of an insensate war; but since experience has shewn its value, I doubt not his Holiness will perceive how important it is, for the public tranquillity and the preservation of peace, that you should return speedily to Rome; for myself, I desire it ardently. I am well convinced that your presence will contribute greatly to confirm the pacific sentiments of which the Holy Father ought not in future to divest himself. Receive the expression of my esteem, &c.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE.”^a

^a This letter appeared in all the journals of France and Italy. It is to be found in the Madrid Gazette of April 18, 1797, page 318. This is a fit occasion to refute a calumny which my vile

The published papers of the day likewise disclose the conduct of the Spanish cabinet with

vile enemies spread abroad at this period, and which the authors of the "*Nouvelle Biographie des Contemporains*" have not failed to collect with much other filth.

When that excellent and candid Pontiff, Pius VI., was seduced so far as to join the Italian league, he wrote to Charles IV. to exhort him to rescind, on his part, the treaty of Basle. His Holiness's nuncio at Madrid exercised every means with the cabinet then confided to my direction. The King's answer, as well as mine, was filled with sentiments of filial piety, love, and respect for the common Father of the faithful. Still H. M. solicited Pius IV. not to interfere in wars which might compromise his character and his existence. The King, at the same time, explained to him the motives in virtue of which he persisted in adhering to the peace with France. The Biographies state that my letter was only a contemptuous tissue of insults against the Pope. They added, that I circulated this letter publicly, when it created so great an indignation, that I was obliged to stop its course, by withdrawing all the copies already in circulation. Ought not men to compare facts, who undertake to write history,—should they not decide only when they have submitted them to a sound criticism? Besides, it was natural to entertain a ~~doubt~~ of the authenticity of this pretended letter, since at that very time I was daily giving proofs of my devotedness to the Head of the Church, and of my respectful affection towards his person. One thing only is true—which is, that there was circulated in Madrid a falsified copy of my ministerial letter. The slanderers who pushed matters to extremes, and endeavoured to render me odious, devised this imposition. As soon as I obtained a knowledge of it, my indignation was equal to my surprise. I instantly put a stop to this surreptitious circulation; and when the publication of my genuine letter could no longer compromise the Pope, I ordered it to be published in all Spain. This inconceivable levity of these fabricators of biographies, so eager to collect the imputations of my enemies, has it not caused them some regret? With such profanations, the press can be little more than an instrument of mischief.

regard to the Holy Father. During the last and deplorable trial he had to undergo (15th February 1798), I was disposed to quit the ministry; but I wished to remain in office some time longer, in order to devise means for soothing the situation of his Holiness, and of sending that support of which Spain was never grudging towards him up to the period of his death. I must here add, that France was mistrustful of every government except that of Spain. We were always permitted to preserve our direct and intimate relations with the august prisoner. Three prelates,—M. M. Lorenzana, inquisitor-general, archbishop of Toledo; Don Raphael Musquiz, since archbishop of St. James; and Despuig, archbishop of Valencia, afterwards a cardinal—were sent to the Sovereign Pontiff, to bear him consolation and support.⁴ The Directory was not alarmed at these communications, but saw without jealousy our solicitude and deference towards the Pope, and never thought of taking umbrage at them. Such were the character and freedom of our alliance with the Republic.

Those who then had to negotiate with France,

mischief. What an abuse of the most splendid invention of the human mind!

⁴ See the biographical note of the Table referring to these three archbishops. The Prince of the Peace killed two birds with one stone, as the proverb says. He sent support and consolation to the Pope; but he sent them by three men, whose intrigues and malevolence were thus dextrously paralyzed. The details of this affair are given in the note—E.

those who read in history the rigour with which kings and governments were treated by the French Republic, will not know to what cause they are to attribute this condescension towards us. They will perhaps believe that it was purchased by sacrifices; my calumniators have not failed to affirm it; but they have never been able to advance a single proof. I have already declared it elsewhere; I defy them to shew the least ground for these base insinuations. There neither exist, in Spain nor elsewhere, any data from which it can be inferred that the generous and friendly conduct of France was not thoroughly disinterested. There have indeed been spread vague reports on this subject. Here is one that General Foy did not fear to entertain: "The French squadrons," said he, "when they came to Spain, exhausted, consumed the king's stores." It is painful to see this illustrious general accept with such levity, the part that calumny assigns to France with reference to a friendly and allied nation! It is very true that our squadrons more than once took the supplies they required from the stores at Brest and Toulon, at that time well provided; and the French squadrons did the same in our ports. But an account was kept on both sides, and in the end every thing was paid for with the most rigid exactness.

I should wish to explain in this place the honourable proceedings of France, and her accommo-

dating spirit in all pecuniary matters, towards the Spanish Government. But not having at hand the documents necessary to support assertions which would appear exaggerated, I shall only adduce one fact, well known to many persons still living.

About the end of 1801 (I think I am not mistaken as to the date), two of the Philippine Company's vessels, freighted with ingots and goods to the value of nearly six millions of piastres (more than thirty millions of francs) touched at the Isle of France, and requested an escort. Two frigates, *La Vertu* and *La Régénérée*, were ready to set sail for France. The governor of the island consented that they should convoy the two Spanish vessels on the voyage; but he demanded by way of loan a sum of two millions of francs, of which the colony was in want. The proposal having been accepted, the two frigates convoyed our galleons till they reached Spain. Solely devoted to the protection of the charge confided to them, they never attempted to make prizes, although the opportunity offered more than once on the voyage. The passage was long and tedious; the object of the mission of the French ships sustained delays: this object was important and pressing. The advance or loan of the two millions only concerned private interests, those of the Philippine Company. It was not a direct concern of the Government. In 1808, our ambassador at Paris was extolling, in

a diplomatic conference, the honourable proceeding of the French Government, and was remarking the advantages that the protection and support of France gave to the commerce of both countries ; he seized the opportunity of referring, though not in terms of complaint, to the loan or engagement of the two millions advanced for the Indian frigates. " It was rather a dear escort," added he. " But the case, as you see," said Cambaceres, " does not belong to our time." " That money shall be paid back," exclaimed the First Consul. In fact, a few days afterwards, the sum was ordered to be repaid from the public treasury. The minister of foreign affairs communicated the decree, adding that the French Government invited ours to produce all claims for interest that H. C. M. or his subjects might think due, whatsoever was the date or remoteness of the transaction.

" Between two great nations which mutually esteem each other and make it their honour to share the advantages and dangers of a common war, nothing should take place to wound the dignity of their alliance, and convert it into a species of traffic to the prejudice of both." Such was the language of the French minister.

The Consular Government had already given other proofs of respect for the double treaty of peace and alliance. A decree of the 8th December 1800, recommended the fulfilment of the 10th article of the treaty of Basle. All the restitutions

and indemnities due to the subjects of H. C. M., for the goods and effects confiscated during the war, were to be liquidated and definitively settled. The late Directory had never refused to acknowledge these debts, but the difficulties in which it was placed, and the continual changes in the administration, had not allowed it to bring the matter to a conclusion. Many settlements had been agreed on : however, there still remained much to discuss. Amongst the payments effected, some were not in full. The necessities of the creditors had induced them to consent to reductions which were not authorized by the treaty. The fall of the Directory left things in this state of uncertainty. It is well known that in cases of the like nature, a new government is willing enough to throw a doubt upon old engagements, or at least to postpone their consideration. This was not the conduct of the Consulate. All the regular claims of the Spanish creditors were liquidated ; and what is more, the accounts audited and even paid under the Directory, by arbitrary or incomplete payments, were allowed to be rectified, and were discharged in full.

It is painful to me to have to call attention in this place to the ignorance or injustice of the *Central Governing Junta* of Spain, in the declaration of war against France, published at Aranjuez the 14th November 1808.

Amongst the injuries that Spain pretends to

have received from France under her different Governments, they go so far as to say “ that the indemnities due to the Crown or to the subjects of H. C. M. were constantly denied, and all claims on this head absolutely rejected.”⁵

There were sufficient motives to declare war against Napoleon, without its being necessary to allege one that was unjust and contrary to truth.

The consular decree of which I have just spoken was inserted in the Madrid Gazette. All the courts of the kingdom received notice of it, and copies, with the requisite instructions. The Junta of Reprisals⁶ was charged with this official communication, and acquitted itself with all the required solemnity; every municipality had the decree published within its district. How could the central Junta be ignorant of, or misrepresent, the fact?

Here is the text of the leading articles of this document: 1st. The offer made by his Excellency the Ambassador of the King of Spain, in the name of H. C. M., to proceed by way of negotiation to the execution of the 10th article of the treaty of Basle is accepted.

2d. There shall be appointed a special commis-

⁵ Supplement to the Madrid Gazette of 18th Nov. 1808.

⁶ *Junta de Represasias*, a tribunal, whose name indicates its objects—captures, confiscations, sequestrations of property belonging to foreigners.

sion of three persons named by the first consul, on the proposal of the ministers of foreign affairs and finance.

3d. This commission is charged to receive and examine the claims of Spanish creditors, to verify their legality according to what is laid down in the 10th article of the aforesaid treaty; and in concurrence with the commissioners appointed by H. C. M., the commission shall determine the character or real value, definitively authenticated, as well as the terms and modes of payment.

4th. Confirmed the authentications already settled at the time of the appointment of the present commission.

5th. The Spanish creditors, who after the authentication of their claims shall have been forced to accept the reimbursement in full or in part, from a false application of laws at variance with the treaty of Basle, which guaranteed the entire reimbursement, will address their claims to the commission. It will decide according to right.

9th. The accounts of authentications, certified by the minister of foreign affairs, shall be communicated to the minister of the public treasury, who shall order the reimbursement according to the disposition and tenor of each article.

11th. The public treasury shall make the payments according to the decree of the consuls, and upon the report made by the minister. The authentication being decreed and fixed, the pay-

ment shall take place without difficulty, without delay, without awaiting the end of the general authentication.

After such a convention, religiously and publicly fulfilled, what excuse can be alleged by those persons who have charged with neglect and weakness as well my administration as that of my successors? How could they say, in the face of the world, that "the indemnities and restitutions due to the crown, or to the subjects of H. C. M., had been constantly denied and all claims rejected?"

And thus they have allowed themselves to stigmatize the equitable and just conduct of the Republican Government, whose honourable proceedings towards Spain have ever been consistent!

Enough of proof: if I am not labouring under a vain illusion, I have shewn to demonstration that this peace of Basle, alike opportune and honourable, saved the country and the throne from those disastrous chances which cost so many tears and so much blood to the other powers of Europe, who were bent upon combating the Republic. The alliance which consolidated the peace was at once a necessity imposed upon Spain by England, and a wise measure of policy, the merit of which belongs to the worthy counsellors of the crown still more than to myself. I obtained, without at first daring to hope it, the advantage of not passing the line by which our interest was bound to that of France. Spain was indebted to that happy

inspiration for the honour of being considered and respected more than any other nation of the European continent. If it was not given us to conquer England, we were at least enabled to withstand her ambition, and to preserve intact our vast dominions beyond sea. This grand result was obtained without compromising our dignity, and still less our national independence. The sacrifices that the maritime war imposed upon us were not sacrifices made to France: we made them for our safety, for our liberty, which France threatened not, and which England wished to deprive us of. In the colossal struggle of these two powers, it was not possible for us to remain neutral; the lesser evil, which it was unavoidable for us to encounter, was to brave the declared enmity of Great Britain, by leaning upon France; and Spain drew more advantage than France from this support. Spain, in short, in spite of this union with the Republic, was not her vassal; the Republic did not exercise sway over her. . . . We are not yet come to the period of the Empire, with regard to which my defence is prepared, and will prove to be equally complete.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Continuation of the same subject.—Advantages that Spain obtained by the Treaty of St. Ildefonso.

“THE alliance of Spain with France was advantageous only to the latter,” says M. de Pradt. “France had not to uphold any positive interest of Spain, as the latter had no enemy on the Continent, and the only one she had at sea, England, could not be reached by France.”

This assertion is completely erroneous.

First. If France had not any interest of Spain to maintain on the Continent, Spain, on her side, was not bound to maintain those of France.

And if France could not herself, and with her unaided force, affect England, Spain being in the same condition, and the two powers united being able to act effectively against the common enemy, the alliance was equally advantageous to both.

But is it true that France had not the means of injuring England? Is M. de Pradt so ill-informed upon the events of this period? Was he ignorant, that at the periods the most disastrous to the French navy from the commencement of the war to 1795, according to details exposed every where to the sight and knowledge of all the

world, the privateers of the Republic had captured or destroyed more than three thousand English vessels?

Was he ignorant that these enormous losses raised great outcries in England; that the discontent there was extreme; that in a riot caused by this discontent, the King, George III., was publicly insulted, and his carriage assailed with stones? Was he ignorant, that in the month of March 1796 Mr. Wickham was sent to Basle with a mission real or feigned, to treat for peace?—that Lord Malmesbury, charged with a like mission, came to Paris in October of the same year? Is it possible he had not heard of the celebrated conferences which took place between that ambassador and the minister Charles de la Croix! Did he never hear of the brilliant expeditions of Victor Hugues, of Richery,¹ of Gantheaume de Sercy?

Is he ignorant of the impulse given to the dock-yards of the French navy under the ministry of Admiral Truguet, the zeal with which the Directory devoted itself to this department of the public

¹ The city of Cadix saw the rich prize made by this rear-admiral enter her harbour, consisting of thirty merchant vessels and a ship of war as convoy from the Levant in the month of October 1795. At the same time Victor Hugues had retaken Guadaloupe and St. Lucia from the English, as well as the Dutch Islands of St. Eustatia and St. Martin's. In one of their attempts upon Jamaica, the French closely pressed Kingston, and were very near taking it. At St. Vincent and Grenada they obtained great advantages.

service, the vast enterprises which were set on foot at that period, the co-operation of Holland in all these armaments, and the pecuniary resources she furnished on the occasion ?

Is he ignorant that at the period of our alliance, the maritime coalition of France, Spain, and Holland was in a condition to oppose one hundred ships of the line to the common enemy ?

Has M. de Pradt forgotten that France alone, out of her own resources, made expeditions against Ireland, without reckoning that against Newfoundland, in which the aid of Spain was not, in truth, without advantage to her.²

In short, is he ignorant that England, disconcerted, had to fear for her own colonies ? And the expedition to Egypt, was it not a prodigious effort of the French navy ?

How, then, could this historian conceive the idea, or accept the office of calumniator of the policy of Charles IV. as well as of my administration ? How could a Frenchman say, that France is powerless

² This expedition, composed of seven ships of the line and three frigates, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Richery, sailed from Cadiz August 1796, accompanied by a much stronger Spanish squadron, commanded by General Solano, which had the double object of escorting it to the coast of Terra Firma, and then of reinforcing our cruizers and the garrisons in our ports. Richery destroyed the English establishments in Bull Bay and Castles Bay. He sacked the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon : more than one hundred English ships were sunk or burnt : the prizes were numerous and valuable.

against England?—the co-operation of Spain and Holland doubled the resources of the Republic? Undoubtedly this co-operation did not suffice to daunt England; she gained signal victories in the naval engagements she fought against us. But it is not the less true, that the triple alliance attained its objects, by giving her serious occupation, and preventing her from engaging in other enterprises, especially against Spain, enterprises which the ministry had foreseen, and which well-founded fears for their own country forced them to postpone: England was obliged to incur enormous expenses: her mercantile navy experienced multiplied losses; her forces were necessarily divided, a portion of them being employed in Europe; and instead of attacking, she was kept on the defensive at various points. If the whole of the immense possessions of Spain in the two Americas were effectually protected, and in a manner redounding to our honour, during the long years of my administration, this advantage is the fruit of our treaty of alliance. I will say more; in the cruel alternative to which England reduced us, of contending against her or against France, if we had preferred a war with the Republic, the loss of our possessions in America was unavoidable.

Of this I had a full conviction, and this conviction was the basis of my policy; succeeding events have but too surely justified it.

Never has England pardoned either France or

Spain for the share they took in the revolt of her colonies.

Whether she was our friend or our ally, the old animosity rankled in her breast. Her interest and her ambition counselled her to avenge it. To provoke *emancipation*, to appropriate to herself our wealth in those distant countries, to establish a commercial footing in them, to foment divisions, to render herself necessary there as a friend, as a protector of the parties conquering or conquered, to seize upon the sources of the precious metals,—such was the plan of England; sometimes pushed into activity, sometimes deferred from accidental circumstances—never abandoned—constantly in the order of the day;—the occasion only was wanting: it presented itself. France and Europe were violently agitated; the longer the storm lasted, the greater the chances for England to succeed in her object. If France and Spain had engaged in a war of destruction against each other, the vigilance of Spain beyond the seas was necessarily weakened, and the time was come for causing the loss of her colonies. This was proved to me to demonstration by the conduct of the English minister towards us, in the three years' quarrel we had with the Republic. I do not speak here from hearsay or vain assumptions; the council of state, as already mentioned, saw the thing as clearly as myself when the question arose of an alliance with France. My ministerial papers abound with do-

cuments, advices, official reports, sent from all the viceroys ; secret and perfidious intrigues disturbed those distant dominions ; alarming intelligence, projects, plans of insurrection, of separation, were artfully spread ; the fear was excited of a possible and proximate catastrophe in Spain ; assistance as well as support, in case of a commotion, brought about by circumstances ; better means of improvement ; more institutions, liberal, more appropriate to the moral state of the country ; every thing was offered. Insidious programmes, insidiously distributed and propagated, recommended these subversive ideas. The danger was daily becoming more serious. The fidelity of the colonies still held out : but it was absolutely essential that Spain should be at rest on the side of France, without which all was lost. Engaged in a war with so formidable a neighbour, how would it have been possible to defend at once Spain and America ?

The honour of the crown was satisfied ; the contest terminated ; peace was concluded without any show of weakness, and in a solid and durable manner ; and England could no longer rejoice in our troubles, or stir them up. Hence so much ill-humour ; hence that persistence in wishing to re-plunge us into the mire, into the miseries of a new contest ; hence all those promises of subsidies, of auxiliary armies, which they had taken care not to put at our disposal when we were fighting alone,

and reduced to our own strength. At present we were offered mountains and wonders to seduce us, as other states more credulous than we were, were seduced, and paid dearly their fatal complaisance.

The counsels and specious promises of England made no more impression than her insults and her threats. The wisdom of the cabinet disconcerted her perfidy, and disdained to answer her bravadoes. By the treaty of alliance the crown of Castile was strengthened, and our two Americas preserved from all danger. These are the facts which apply to the first epoch of my administration; history will consecrate them. I shall here glance by anticipation at the succeeding epoch.

The revolution of Aranjuez, for which England was well prepared, dethroned Charles IV. and delivered over his son to the mercy of the French.

That war of extermination which the cabinet of St. James's was impatiently expecting, and provoking by a thousand means,—that unnatural war broke out in 1808. Spain was involved in a general conflagration. England immediately appeared as a saving angel. She offered aid to an orphan people: this people threw themselves into her arms. What were the consequences?

The cabinet of St. James's, constant in its plans, sought at once to ruin both nations. Assistance was furnished with a Machiavellian parsimony,—just enough to prolong the contest; they calculated its

duration and inevitable effects : they counted, as it were, the pulse of the invalid ; but to balance the first charges, smuggling boldly entered the Peninsula, along with the foreign auxiliaries. Our manufactures were annihilated : and what was not at first strangled by this sudden pressure, soon perished from accidents, either natural or dexterously superinduced during the contest.

The navy of Spain disappeared : part was carried off ; the rest rotted in the abandoned dock-yards and arsenals, which were delivered over to pillage. Our valiant sailors, distinguished alike for skill and bravery, the legacy of former wars, were torn from their special destination, dispersed, lost amidst the military (the English had so advised), and when there remained no more than the name of the ancient Spanish navy, then was the glorious crown of the two worlds miserably mutilated ; by dint of intrigues, seductions, and secret or open artifices, they succeeded in detaching America from the mother country. These are facts which also belong to history.

I will now ask M. de Pradt and General Foy, or him who speaks in his name,—I will ask all my detractors, was the treaty of St. Ildefonso that transaction of which France, like the lion in the fable, alone obtained all the advantages ? Assuredly not. France had nothing to maintain or to lose, except some islands of little importance, and unhealthy or uninhabited coasts. Spain pos-

sessed an entire world beyond the seas. Thanks to our alliance, and to the powerful diversion by means of which this alliance occupied a part of the power of England in defending her own possessions, and even her native soil, all that delightful half of the globe was kept in peace and preserved intact under the laws of the mother country. Shall it be said that this was a miracle, an effect of chance? However, this miracle lasted twelve years, as long a time as the war with Great Britain.* And I had foreseen this miracle; the result has only justified the calculations and the wisdom of the cabinet with the direction of which I was entrusted.

But commerce suffered greatly, my adversaries will not fail to assert. Doubtless, our relations with America were frequently interrupted; but whose was the fault? We had not provoked England: we had employed every means to bring her back to a system of moderation. Whether from ambition or inveterate hatred against France,—and against France all our measures were unavailing,—not being enabled to seduce or ruin us, she persisted in doing us mischief. The damages she caused us were even slight in comparison with

* I say twelve years, not reckoning the short duration of the truce of Amiens. This truce cost us four frigates, an immense treasure, the lives of three hundred brave men attacked in profound peace, and to the great astonishment of all civilized nations, by our friends the English. We lost much less during the whole twelve years of the war.

the sufferings of other nations, dragged on by England much further than they should have gone. Spain experienced some sort of compensation in the national spirit, and in the paternal solicitude of the government, which created unexpected resources. Notwithstanding all the mischances of the maritime war, the wealth heaped up for ages came forth from its recesses, in which mistrust or ignorance had kept it concealed. The sales of property in mortmain favoured the circulation of money; agriculture received useful encouragement; the soil became more fruitful: speculations of industry were multiplied with success. Smuggling sensibly decreased; knowledge, carefully fostered, was making great advances; and the mass of the nation, set in motion by industry, was acquiring a taste for labour. The good faith and loyalty of the government, the patriotic devotedness of commerce, revived our credit; the activity of our dockyards encouraged production. All these advantages were in a great measure repairing the evils of the war; and these evils were not above our power to bear. Every man, at least, held his property secure, his religion free from danger, his fireside free from insult under the watchful protection and through the wise policy of our excellent king, Charles IV.

I am not now dealing in fiction; this great development of the resources, moral, manufacturing, and agricultural, of the country was favoured and

maintained during and in spite of the naval war in which Spain was engaged.

Of this I shall speak more at large elsewhere, when tracing a true picture of this reign, which has been so shamelessly calumniated. I speak in the presence of persons who were then living, and who are still alive; I call upon them to come forward and convict me of falsehood if I depart from the truth.

A last explanation remains to be given. Were there in Spain, in this state of things, many persons who would have preferred war with France? Not one. The continual disasters of Italy and Germany made men bless the administration which had saved the country from them. Undoubtedly, Spain, strong and vigorous, was ready to repel whosoever should dare to provoke her by any direct aggression. But no Spaniard would, out of mere wantonness, have exposed his country to a war, which in case of reverse, would have shaken religion, property, morals, the crown of her monarch, and the foundations of her altars. In the interior of the provinces, in the heart of the country, and even in the cities, scarcely was it known that a maritime war existed. Its effects were not sensibly felt; and where they were, no complaint was made of the Government, which had not provoked the war. It was known to have originated in another quarter. The territorial peace counterbalanced many evils, and kept at a distance the calamities

with which the Continent was afflicted. The same resignation, the same general good-will, the same deference to the Government reigned in America. Though the natives of that continent did not fear attack on the part of France, they desired peace with her, and preferred having to defend themselves against England. This remarkable union of men's minds in the Peninsula, in Asia, in the islands, and, above all, on the continent of America—is a splendid eulogium on the policy of Charles IV.! The thorough accordance of the people, the extraordinary conformity of their sentiments throughout the whole extent of the empire, gave an immense advantage to Spain. M. de Pradt never doubted it shall it still be said that the treaty of St. Ildefonso was advantageous only to France?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Don Joseph Monino, Count de Florida Blanca, President of the Central Governing Junta in 1808.—Manifesto published by the Junta.—Answer to its injurious contents.

AFTER having overturned the throne of Charles IV. and delivered Spain over to the mercy of Napoleon, they who had done the mischief hastened to cast the blame upon me. “He has sold his country,” said they, with unparalleled effrontery. But the veil with which they had covered their intrigues was not yet raised.¹ The indignation excited against me reached almost to madness; my name was outraged, and proscription tacitly extended to all my friends. Many faithful servants of the monarchy were murdered by the excited populace, and several incurred great dangers; others, seized with a cowardly terror, affected to declare against me, endeavouring even to prove that they had always been my enemies. Thus, on one side fear, and on the other calumny, took away from me every species of support. No one

¹ The Letter of Ferdinand VII. to Napoleon was known to the public only in the month of May, after the events of the 19th March 1808; and it was Napoleon who made it known by his answer. This letter discloses all the intrigues of Ecoïquiz, l’Infantado, Beauharnais, &c.—E.

dared to raise his voice to defend me ; in truth, it would have been quite useless in presence of the infuriated multitude, who were fully persuaded that I alone was guilty of the treason which delivered up Spain to the French. There were, however, certain persons, or at least there might have been some found, who were enjoying the popular favour, free from every suspicion of connivance, who might have endeavoured to calm this feeling and to throw light on the facts ; not to stir up the flame, or at least to abstain from speaking or writing against their own conviction.

Of all those men who failed in courage and honour, I will only cite one ; his age, his honourable position, his ancient renown, gave him a degree of authority.

I have already refuted the false assertion contained in the manifesto of the *Central Governing Junta*, an official document, but much more remarkable for the justice of the cause it advocated than for the manner in which it was conceived and drawn up. It is in this that I am styled, *the infamous author* of the treaty of 1796 ; and the *alliance with the Republic is characterised as having produced infinite evils*. The double sentence is pronounced in a solemn tone, without, however, stating what were these evils, or even deigning to hint at them.²

The Count de Florida Blanca (Don Joseph Mo-

² When I come to speak of the events of 1808, I shall give the manifesto with notes.

nino), president of the Junta, made himself the responsible author of the denunciation; that ancient minister, of whom I never was the enemy, and who had never been mine, had often given me proofs of kindness. He had congratulated me more than once upon the success of my administration.* The most expressive of his letters refer

* An infinite number of strange reports concerning me were circulated; amongst others that which attributed to me the disgrace of the Count de Florida Blanca, in February 1792. So far from having the least share in it, it gave me the most painful concern. Besides my respect and esteem for him, I owed him obligations; he never failed to testify his regard for me, particularly in the presence of Charles IV. I may even add that he had commended me to his Majesty, in doing me the honour of attributing to me considerable capacity for diplomacy.* The real causes of his disgrace are known. The nobility and clergy were for a long time opposed to him; but the fatal blow was struck by his declared enemy, the Count d'Aranda, who invested himself with his spoils, by succeeding him in the ministry. I have already spoken of him in the 11th chapter of these Memoirs. It is notorious that d'Aranda, not satisfied with having overthrown him, and assumed his place, procured his exile and imprisonment in the castle of Pampeluna. It is notorious, also, that on my entrance into the ministry, one of my first acts was to recall Florida Blanca from his exile, and to restore to him his honours and his wealth. He enjoyed them both and in tranquillity, during the whole of the time that I held the reins of power, or some influence, at court. If I had my papers at my disposal I would bring

* It was said at that time, that Florida Blanca, jealous of the distinctions of which young Godoy was the object, had ingeniously tried to persuade the king that it would be well to make him travel, by giving him some diplomatic mission. The thing is possible, but it is not worth while to clear it up.—E.

to the years 1795 and 1796, on the subject of the peace of Basle and the treaty of St. Ildefonso. What was my astonishment when I beheld this aged man paying so disgraceful a tribute to human frailty; belying at once his past life, his character, and his own testimony, and imputing to me misfortunes of which he was himself the primary cause!

In fact, if we go back to the source, the Count de Florida Blanca, without having contemplated it, though he ought to have done so, was the real author of all the mischief to which Spain was a prey.

Is it, then, from cowardice, from weakness of character, or from a wretched condescension to the frantic opinions of the period, that he so cruelly insulted me? He should have expressed himself with more caution than any other man. He was speaking of his successor, of a friend who had fallen whilst struggling against the hurricane, against the dangers that he, Florida Blanca, had bequeathed to Spain, to Europe, to the whole world, by his imprudence or his incapacity. Still, if he had

bring forward in this place several of his letters, full of affection and cordiality. I had received from him, as a private testimony of friendship, six handsome chandeliers and a crucifix of lapis lazuli, which the Count had brought from Rome, where he had been the King's Minister. "I had left you them as a legacy in my will," he wrote to me, "but I prefer that you should be in possession of them now." Some of my old friends who are still living can well recollect having seen these valuable articles on the altar of my oratory.

supported his invectives by some kind of reasoning; if he had attempted to justify the epithet *infamous*, which he dared to apply to me for having made the treaty of St. Ildefonso; if he had cited facts to prove that the treaty caused infinite evils, I should have confined myself to answering his assertions by other reasonings; but he has spoken officially, with a tone of authority; I must attack him directly in my turn; I will have my character entirely cleared from this imputation.

Don Joseph Monino, Count de Florida Blanca, prime minister in 1777, found Spain rich, powerful, and in a state of peace the most satisfactory. The road was open and unobstructed for arriving at results favourable to our domestic as well as to our foreign relations; Spain was respected in Europe; she possessed a great weight in the political balance. England and France both sought her friendship. Without an enemy on the Continent, her flag floated in security on every sea; the dynasty of the Bourbons was at the very climax of greatness. She was enjoying in France, in Spain, in Italy, without dispute, the immense inheritance which the policy, the zeal, and the energy of Louis XIV. had procured for her.

What a desirable, what a splendid position for a statesman placed at the helm of the vessel! A propitious wind filled her sails, the sky was calm, not the least appearance of a storm. The whole of Europe, too, enjoyed a similar perspective of

improvement and progression ; knowledge was advancing rapidly ; industry went forward with prodigious strides ; commerce had no longer any limits ; all nations were growing rich ; it was become easy to do good ; the taste for the good and the useful was extensively spread ; the sovereigns of Europe, more or less advanced, were following the movements of the age—none sought to retard them ; laws improved, education more widely diffused, were dispelling ancient prejudices, and salutary reforms were being gradually made. The bases of power were well established ; no disputes arose on the subject. Neither the ambition of the *many*, nor that of the *one*, coveted any where the supreme power. The questions, always delicate, of *popular sovereignty* and Utopian systems, existed only in books, and attracted the attention only of a small number of readers ; all the ancient authorities were respected ; labour, industry, and commerce, engaged the public attention ; the revolutionary spirit had not yet arisen.

All at once the general calm was disturbed by the quarrel of a country of North America with the parent state. A minister of the king of France, the Count de Vergennes, a grave and profound diplomatist, seduced by the vain glory of thwarting and humbling England, wished to support the insurrection of the colonies ; he secretly provided them with arms, money, and advice ; he ended by treating with them upon the footing of equality.

The French monarchy became the ally of nascent liberty beyond the seas.

England, offended, hastened to encounter her enemy; the war was kindled; and France, to secure her triumph in the war she had provoked, solicited the support of Spain, which was then become necessary.

What was the conduct observed in this state of things by the minister of the Catholic King, a king possessing immense colonies in both hemispheres of America, in which the insurrection had just broken out, in which a republic was growing up at the very threshold of the Mexican empire?

The Spanish minister espoused the dangerous system of France; he dissipated the treasures of the state; he raised loans. Our ships covered all the seas. An active diplomacy was at work for a whole year in undermining the friendships that England enjoyed in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia; and when things appeared to him ripe for his purpose, he threw into one of the scales of the balance the whole weight of the Spanish monarchy. He concurred in this improvident war, which tended to consecrate the insurrection of nations against their legitimate sovereigns. Hence arose that eternal hatred. The fatal precedent called for vengeance, or rather retaliation. . . . The day that the two cabinets of France and Spain leagued together, in defiance of the regard that civilized states reciprocally owe each other, and of

the general laws of preservation that secure social order, Pandora's box was opened, and out flew all the calamities that have since afflicted both the Old and the New World.⁴

Was there a stronger power, an irresistible necessity, that obliged the Spanish minister to submit to a condescension that was to cost us so dear? No; Spain was at that time more powerful than France herself. So far from imposing law on her, she was reduced to supplicate. Was it the private wish of Charles III.? Undoubtedly not. That monarch was averse to a coalition with France for any object of such a nature. It was

⁴ Let it not be said, in excuse for the Count de Florida Blanca, that the Court of Madrid acknowledged the independence of North America only after the termination of the war. What avails such feeble dissimulation? Spain did not concur the less absolutely in the war while it lasted. During the very year that our cabinet appeared engaged in negotiations, in offers of its mediation between France and Great Britain, our naval forces were augmented, and ready to join the French squadron, if the bases of the mediation were not accepted. Now, what did England demand? a perfect neutrality in the quarrel. What did Florida Blanca propose? a truce of twenty-five years, to embrace even the insurgent colonies. Was not this openly favouring the cause of the latter? France, at least, exhibited frankness from the commencement. She declared for the Americans. But the Spanish minister, all the time protesting his impartiality, and proposing an inadmissible truce, assumed the air of wishing to favour England, whilst he was endeavouring to paralyze the authority of the mother country over her revolted colonies for twenty-five years, that is to say, to give to the Americans the necessary time for consolidating their independence.



not without difficulty that the minister succeeded in triumphing over his resistance. Was it the wish of the public? Still less. Every one deplored the war. Was it for the interest of the country? The disasters before Gibraltar, those experienced by our navy, the ruin of our credit, attest the contrary. And did the evil end there? It was only the prelude to what we were about to suffer. The seed, sown and watered in North America, produced its fruit. The genius of revolution cleared the ocean, and began to agitate France; thence it spread over all Europe; it made the circuit of the globe, leaving everywhere traces of its passage. . . . These are political transactions, and alliances fatal in a very different sense from those of 1795 and 1796; these are indeed treaties of which it may with reason be said that *they occasioned an infinity of evils*. Every nation, every country suffered its share. Such were the results of the system adopted by these two most ill-advised ministers.

Into what an abyss was Spain precipitated? Like the young and imprudent chemist who finds himself all at once surrounded by the fires that he can no longer control, the rash Florida Blanca was seized with dread; doubt beset his mind; his diplomacy could suggest to him no means of arresting the conflagration; he could neither negotiate nor prepare for resistance; the nation was left to the chance of events; the danger was increasing

from day to day, and the ministerial council was struck with a moral paralysis.

Another famed diplomatist was invoked. The Count d'Aranda, although the personal and declared enemy of Florida Blanca, observed the same system of hesitation; and only struggled in the same ruts in which the other had stuck fast. But the march of the French Revolution was assuming a menacing aspect; the torrent was rushing upon us, and the new minister did not even think of opposing a dyke. . . . Spain uttered a cry of alarm.

Young at the time, a soldier yet untried, possessing nothing but my patriotism and my zeal, but elated by the high confidence that deigned to regard me, I dared to take up the burthen which the two illustrious old men had let fall to the ground; I thought myself called to save my king and my country. . . . All Europe was running to arms; Spain figured nobly in the field of honour. Often victorious, sometimes vanquished, always worthy of herself, she regained her ancient military glory, and preserved her independence. When the moment arrived, peace was made with honour. The scourge of the Revolution was stayed before the boundaries of the Spanish territory. . . . This personified Revolution produced a son more audacious, more formidable than his mother; I still had the good fortune to restrain him; to avoid for a long time the blow he was endeavouring to aim at

us; when at length the terrific giant was about to spring upon us, I desired still to make head against him, persuaded that the country would not abandon me in the holy struggle. Treason and rebellion paralyzed my arm; basely abandoned, insulted, loaded with chains, I fell under the wreck of the throne, which I had defended to the last extremity. . . .

At the report of the fall of the dynasty, and of the foreign invasion, the former magic of his name caused to be evoked, as it were from the tomb, the Count de Florida Blanca, whose physical and moral powers age had exhausted. His enfeebled memory did not remind him that he was himself the primary cause of the evils for which the nation was in vain seeking a remedy. He signed mechanically the manifesto of the Junta. . . . Impartial history will declare upon whom should fall the mark of *infamy*, or the reproach of having caused the calamity of our country. Florida Blanca scarcely preserved the use of his reason when he ventured upon so unmerited a charge; but he possessed all his faculties at the period when he admitted and consecrated the fatal principle, the consequences of which were wielded by England to our prejudice.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

War with England.—Successes and Reverses to the end of the Year 1800.

It has been already shown, that this war was forced upon us. We had to decide against France or against England; there was no middle course. Honour was consulted more than interest. The defence of our harbours and of our shores throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions in the two hemispheres, the proper distribution and the augmentation of our naval force—nothing was neglected: let us examine the results.

Of all the powers which were at variance with England at that period, Spain, from the immense extent of her frontiers, and the distance of her possessions in Asia and America, offered the widest scope to the attacks of England, and, wonderful to say, in that violent war, which continued more than ten years, we only lost one island, of the second or third rank, the island of Trinidad! and that loss was not incurred through any fault of the government! Four ships of the line, one frigate, and other vessels of different sizes, defended the colony. The squadron was stationed in the harbour of Chaguarrama, under the orders

of Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca, a general officer of some renown in the Spanish service. The governor of the island, Don Joseph Maria Chacon, brigadier of the naval forces, also enjoyed a merited reputation for bravery and skill ; much beloved by the inhabitants of the colony, to which he was a benefactor, and which had never been entrusted to abler hands. Three battalions of veteran infantry, good artillery-men, the colonial militia, provisions and ammunition,—every means of resistance were provided. The English succeeded in intimidating and gaining over a part of the colonists, amongst whom were to be found many foreign adventurers, more attached to their property than to their adopted country : defection and avarice paralyzed the defence.¹

¹ In politics, the application of a principle sometimes contradicts theory. This island, nearly deserted and abandoned, was an object of great solicitude to the minister Galvez. In a little time it became flourishing ; the unrestricted admission of strangers, the freedom allowed in her harbours,—these were the bases of this sudden prosperity. Spaniards and foreigners were invited to settle and clear a soil favoured by Nature. Those who brought only the ability for labour, received lands, implements, and advances in money, which they were to reimburse in three, five, and eight years, according to the nature and importance of their works. Few Spaniards availed themselves of these advantages ; but foreigners assembled in crowds ; some applied themselves to agriculture, and others to commerce ; all the discontented of the neighbouring islands came over with their capital and with negroes. In 1796, two years before the loss of the colony, there were above 300 sugar manufactories, which yielded an immense revenue. This prosperity was, in a great measure,

With the exception of this triumph (if, however, the acquisition of Trinidad, gained in such a manner, deserves to be considered a triumph) all the attempts of the English against our possessions, whether in Spain or America, were failures, and often with little honour to our adversary. The conspiracy attempted at the Caraccas was a complete abortion. The expedition which for a moment succeeded on the coast of Guatimala was

measure, the work of the unfortunate governor, whose benevolence, mildness, and talents merited a different return, especially from the foreign colonists. In truth these men had brought every thing into the colony except patriotism. The English having threatened them with confiscation if they succeeded in obtaining forcible possession of the island, an open entrance was given to the enemy. During this base defection, and in the midst of the tumult, Chacon became bewildered. He who had made himself beloved, was unable to make himself respected. It required only a single skirmish with the English light companies.

The naval commander, Apodaca, still more disconcerted than the governor Chacon, hastily set fire to his squadron, for fear of its falling into the hands of the English. A decree of the king, upon the report of the minister Cavallero, and countersigned by him, pronounced the dismissal of the two chiefs. Chacon was further condemned to perpetual banishment from his Majesty's dominions.

Thus, as I have before said, it was proved that the best theories are not always without inconvenience in practice. The island of Trinidad prospered from the application of principles, of which the government wished to make trial in the colony. The mother country was expecting to enjoy the fruits of her generous condescension ; but at the first danger, the island consulting merely its own interests, whether well or ill understood, voluntarily submitted to another government.

immediately repulsed ; the English lost many men there ; the armament directed against the Philippines was arrested by the preparations of defence which awaited it, and ended by perishing in the stormy seas in which it had been a long time tossed. It was said at the time that the attempt cost many millions. At a later period the English attacked Porto Ricco : our resistance redounded to the honour of our arms : the enemy was vigorously repulsed, and compelled to re-embark after an ineffectual contest of fifteen days.²

A short time afterwards came the attack on Teneriffe ; Nelson directed the expedition ; he suffered in his reputation and lost an arm.³ A few

² Sixty-eight transports, supported by one three-decker, four ships carrying from fifty to seventy guns, two bomb vessels, with innumerable sloops and gun-boats, had landed 10,000 English on the shore at Cangrejos. The fighting by sea and land lasted fifteen days. The English perceived the inutility of their partial efforts. On our side, a general attack was determined on ; they prevented it by hastily taking refuge on board their ships, to which they were hotly pursued, with the loss of 2,000 men killed or prisoners. They abandoned their cannon, ammunition, tents, provisions, horses—all that they had disembarked. About 100 Frenchmen, who were on the island, reaped their share in the glory, to which they greatly contributed. The intrepid Brigadier General, Don Ramon de Castro, commanded in the colony. All the officers and soldiers distinguished themselves in the heroic contest ; the negroes, too, deserve to be most honourably mentioned.

³ The English expedition was composed of three ships of ninety-four guns, one of seventy, three frigates, one bomb vessel, and several light sloops and barks. After a first attack, the troops put on shore were compelled to re-embark. Nelson, enraged,

days before, in the first attack in July, he assisted in the bombardment of Cadiz, and exerted the most unheard-of energy to get possession of our squadron, or to burn it. Our intrepid sailors and the loyal inhabitants forced the enemy to desist from his rash enterprize.*

enraged, determined to renew the attack, and march himself at the head of the marines. Under the protection of a dark night, on the 24th July, he attempted a double coup-de-main against the mole and against the city. About eleven o'clock at night, 2,000 men reached within half-cannon shot of Paso Alto. The English gave the shout of attack ; it was answered on our side with a shower of grape. Sixty cannon fired at once. On setting foot on the mole, Nelson was hit by a cannon ball. Andrews, the second in command, was mortally wounded. Captain Bowen, with other officers and upwards of 500 men, remained on the field. The streets were barricaded, and our fire well kept up. Several sloops having missed the entrance to the harbour were driven on shore: the Fox cutter, perforated with balls between wind and water, entirely disappeared. The sea was excessively rough ; the re-embarkation impossible. Don Francis Gutierrez, the governor of the Islands, might have taken prisoner every man there ; but Nelson, whom his men were enabled to save, demanded (a thing incredible!) to be allowed to collect his troops, upon undertaking to renounce thenceforward, not only his own enterprize, but every other in the Archipelago of the Canaries. Gutierrez did not know what forces remained to the English admiral, or might still join him ; he consented ; the English re-embarked. Weak, but generous, Gutierrez lost no time in sending Nelson medicines and dressings for his wound ; and the latter engaged to forward to the Court of Madrid the official correspondence of the Spanish Government. I should add, that the French sailors, a great number of whom were then at Teneriffe, greatly contributed to our victory.

* On the two memorable nights of the third and fifth of July, there was an ample harvest of glory for those who directed



Soon after, in 1800, the English came to brave us on our own soil. In August they determined

ed and executed our means of resistance. On the third, in the midst of the darkness, our boats raised the bombardment. The ketch had not been able to throw above five or six projectiles, of which three only fell within the town. The attacks of our gun-boats were obstinate and bloody. Nelson was every where a witness to the courage of our soldiers; and he took especial care of the wounded who fell into his power on the mutual assaults. The second night, that of the 5th, was no less glorious; but it did not cost so much blood; the English spared us, in sparing themselves. Five bomb ketches and one howitzer began the attack. The enemy was enabled to approach nearer in consequence of the rising tide; but he was unable to maintain his fire for more than three hours: he could not even direct it with precision. Five or six bombs fell on the mole; two in the bay, none in the city; all of them burst in the air. The English found themselves in great difficulty to get back by rowing and towing off; they suffered dreadfully before they could re-embark, our fire, both on land and sea, having been incessant and well served. On the tenth, the English were desirous of recommencing, but our new means of defence, now got ready, prevented them. Don Joseph Mazaredo, Commander-in-chief of the squadron, Lieutenant-General Don Frederick Gravina, Major-General Don Antonio Ascaño, Don Domingo de Nava, and Don Juan de Villa Vicenzio, Commodore, Don Antonio Miralles, captain of a frigate, and Don Miguel Yrigoyen, besides many other officers, acquired on that day new claims to the gratitude of their country. Cadiz gave evidence of incomparable patriotism and devotion, the inhabitants at once came forward with a gift of 500,000 francs, and the city further added the necessary funds to establish new means of defence. Within seven days of the blockade there appeared, as if by enchantment, eight tartans, provided with furnaces for red-hot balls, and twenty four-pounders; ten large barks, mounting guns of the same calibre, a great number of gun-boats, &c. The Consulate (Court of Commerce) gave a million of reals, to be distributed amongst the soldiers

to attack Ferrol : their aim here, too, was no other than to carry off our squadron, and destroy this noble branch of our marine. At that period, our army was reduced to half the efficiency to which I had raised it ; and our finances grievously depressed through the multiplied blunders of the ministers who came after me. In endeavouring to raise and force our credit, they had ruined it. The English were well aware of the state of weakness of our army. They landed 15,000 men on the coast at Dofinos. Ten ships of the line, four of them three-deckers, seven frigates, as many small vessels, transports, and a numerous light flotilla, covered the coast of Galicia.

Is it necessary to ascend to times gone by, in order to seek instances of national glory, when the present age furnishes such splendid ones ? Two days and two battles sufficed to confound this invasion, which ended in smoke.

On the night of the 26-27th the English regained their ships with an immense loss, and their military glory tarnished. ^a They proceeded

soldiers and sailors ; and the Bishop, Don Antonio Martinez de la Plaza, assigned from the revenues of his mitre 7,500 francs in pensions to the wounded and maimed, and the widows and children of the brave men slain in the service of their country. This example was followed by many of the merchants ; and the inhabitants of Cadiz honoured me so far as to nominate me perpetual *regidor* (municipal officer) of the city ; my assumption of the office was celebrated for three days with public rejoicings.

^a The defence of Ferrol was in great measure owing to the flying

to avenge their defeat on the unfortunate city of Cadiz, then a prey to the yellow fever: they had the cruelty to attack it in these dreadful circumstances, and the impudence to demand that the squadron should be given up. The very sick were anxious to join in the defence,—heroic devotion! To the English the shame alone redounded of having committed useless hostilities against a generous and dying people.*

As for the naval successes from 1796 to 1800, the English could only boast of the victory gained by Admiral Jervis at Cape St. Vincent (February 1797). That battle gave them four ships of the line, dismasted and almost destroyed.⁷ A few

flying camps which I had established on the coast previously to my quitting the ministry, and which happily had been continued. This is no vain-glory on my part. Whosoever doubts the truth of the fact, may read the *Gazette Extraordinary* of Madrid of the 31st August 1800, and of the 12th of September of the same year. He will there find the details of this brilliant success specially attributed to the camps formed in 1797; and this was not stated as a compliment to me. Urquijo was then minister, and it is well known that he was no friend of mine.

The brave defenders of Ferrol were Don Francisco Melgarejo, commander of the naval department; Don Juan Joachim Moreno, who commanded the squadron stationed in the harbour; Don Francisco Xavier Negrété, captain-general of the province; and field-marechal Count Donadio, who commanded the detached camps for the protection of the coasts.

* It was said in France, on this occasion: It is throwing bombs against an hospital.

⁷ Our noble squadron amounted to twenty-seven ships of the line, seven of them three-deckers, ten frigates, three corvettes,



months after the Republic of Holland, more unfortunate than we were, lost an entire squadron, nine ships of the line and several frigates.

The capture of some galleons coming from America was not an object of much importance.* The English did not obtain by it enough to indemnify themselves for the losses they had incurred by their expeditions against us up to 1800. Add to all this the costly armaments they were obliged to maintain to contend against the triple alliance of France, Spain, and Holland ; the ex-

vettes, &c. It might have prevented the junction of Admiral Parker with Jervis ; and even after their junction, our squadron, under the orders of the commander-in-chief, Don Joseph de Cordova, was still superior to that of the English. They ought to have beaten them. The length of our line, which was ill-conceived, allowed the enemy to cut off or separate six ships which were condemned to sustain the weight of the attack. We lost the *St. Joseph*, the *Salvador*, the *St. Isidore*, and the *St. Nicholas*, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance. Jervis declined a new encounter, and the fleet returned into the harbour of Cadiz. This unfortunate result could not be imputed to the government. There was a fatality, a negligence, an excessive presumption, on the part of the commander, Cordova, an officer who, till that day, had borne an excellent reputation.

The admiral, Don Antonio Valdes, pronounced against him a sentence of dismissal from the service, and declared him incapable of holding any command in future. He was interdicted from residing in the capital, as well as from presenting himself in the principal places of the three departments of the royal navy.

(*) Our Gazette and the other public papers detail the numerous prizes made by our privateers, both in Europe and America.



penses occasioned by the necessity of defending their own shores ; in short, the loss of all the trade of our colonies ; and it will be seen that England suffered much more than we did from this collision, which she had herself provoked.


CHAPTER XXXIX.

Internal Administration, from my Entrance into the Ministry
in 1792, to my Retirement in March 1798.

Finances.

IN representing in their proper light the acts of administration of the last six years of which I have been speaking, it is not my cause alone that I am defending; I am speaking also for the honourable men who participated with me in the cares and dangers of an epoch truly memorable and critical. It would be unjust to attribute to me exclusively the blame, if any has been incurred; and on my side, I have no right to claim as my own the good that was done by my colleagues. There existed between us but one thought, one desire, that of preserving our country from the calamities which pressed upon the rest of Europe, or at least to diminish the eventual share in those calamities which Spain had to dread. Our efforts were not without their use; other people worthy of a better fate were reduced to envy ours. Such was the result of the respective co-operation of all the members of the council.

To villify, therefore, this period of the government of the Spanish monarchy, is to put on their trial all



the men who concurred in it; those worthy servants of the state are not unknown to the world; the names of Valdes, Acuña, Bejamar, Llaguno, Campo de Alanje, Gardoqui, Varela, La Cañada, Vallejo,¹ deserve to be recorded with distinction. Spain has nothing wherewith to reproach their memory; the good they did not do, it was impossible to perform; and it is much that they turned aside the evil with which we were threatened. To maintain, to preserve, was at that time more than to acquire, or make advances in circumstances of calm and tranquillity. Spain left to herself came forth from the crisis without having exhausted all her resources, without the public weal being compromised or affected. The pressure of the war was hardly felt: the unavoidable taxes reached those only who were able to bear them; they were so happily conceived, that there even resulted from them ameliorations difficult to obtain in any other circumstances. The government diffused benefit from the sacrifices imperiously demanded for the common defence. They who have accused us of malversation and wasteful expenditure, have no just idea of the species of government to which such reproaches should be applied; they have seen what

¹ Le Bailli Don Antonio de Valdes, Minister of Marine; Acuña, Minister of Justice; Llaguno, idem; Porlier, Count de Bejamar, President of the Council of the Indies; Don Felipe Vallejo, Governor of the Council of Castile; Gardoqui, Minister of Finance; Varela, of the Marine; Azedo Rico, Count de la Cañada, Governor of the Council of Castile.

has since taken place. . . . They may now form a comparison between the administration of 1792 to 1798, and those of the subsequent years. They have seen, more especially from 1814 to 1830, and to the present period, a government superlatively loyal ; a restorative government, the one which the men of the Escorial, of Aranjuez and of Bayonne, had evoked by their vows ; which had been got up by so many artifices and bequeathed as their rightful inheritance ; a government which has devoured, gnawed to the very bones, that heroic and gallant monarchy, of which the skeleton only remains. . . . Who can enumerate the sufferings, the agonies of Spain, during the last twenty years ? O my country ! more alive to thy misfortunes than to those by which I am myself overwhelmed, what tears hast thou cost me in my exile ! I have served thee with exclusive devotedness ; I have loved thee with ardour ; my only ambition has been to see thee honoured and renowned amongst the nations of the earth ! On quitting thee, at least I left thee glorious, still *Queen of the two Worlds* ; and amongst thy numerous children, dispersed and tossed by the storm, I am the only one towards whom every sentiment of justice and generosity seems extinguished in the hearts of Spaniards ! Time, that great reformer of the judgments of passion, must have taught thee, O my noble country ! who were thy true enemies. . . . They are the very men who have calum-

misconduct, persecuted me, who have cast upon me all the errors, the faults, the crimes of which they themselves were guilty, and the immortal penalty of which I alone am doomed to bear.

But to return to my subject. Here is the exact statement of the *legitimate means*, the loyal resources which Spain put forth during the six years of my ministry, to make head against the terrible exigencies of this long crisis, to preserve her independence, her integrity, and to lower her anchor in a safe harbour, in spite of the hurricane that alarmed the world.

Indirect Contributions.

A moderate and temporary supply, raised upon certain incomes, privileged or in trust. The stamp tax was applied in all judicial acts, civil or ecclesiastical, as well as in all kinds of civil contracts, or claims of interest for money, increasing in proportion to the amount. The poorer classes were exempt from its operation.*

Personal Contributions.

No personal contributions levied upon the class of the people; and even the old ones were lessened. The working class were held, as it were, sacred.

* *Papel de Pobres*, stamped paper of the poor; whoever chose to employ this paper only was at liberty to do so. The treasury was not exacting on this point.

All salaries of employés above eight thousand reals (2,000 francs) were subject to a drawback of four per cent. during the three years of the duration of the war with France. Pluralities in office were reformed. In all the departments, beginning with the palace, the most rigorous economy prevailed.

LOANS.

There were many ; but all were national ; I shall give a statement of them :—

1st Loan.

Sixteen millions of piastres (eighty millions of francs), by virtue of the royal order of the 16th January 1794.

This loan, like the succeeding ones, underwent a long and mature discussion in the council of state. After this first deliberation, the matter was referred to the royal council of Castile, and was again the subject of a further and no less mature examination. None of these state debts were contracted by the supreme *authority*, or by *ministerial influence* ; never, above all, in opposition to the wish of one or other of the councils. When the first loan which is here referred to was raised, after a year's war with France, the royal vales, or bonds of the loan, obtained a premium upon their amount ; which proves, 1st. the confidence in the government ; 2dly. the abundance of capital unemployed ; 3dly. the punctuality of the

treasury in paying the stipulated interest, and in effecting the progressive extinction of the debt. The interest was four per cent., without deduction or charge of any kind.

In this emission or creation of sixteen millions of piastres were comprehended the acknowledged debts of the preceding reign. New funds were specially appropriated to the gradual extinction of this debt ; 1st. the contribution of ten per cent. on the annual produce of the capital and property of the Commons of the kingdom ;³ 2dly. the right of discount, on the exclusive payment of the piastres, formerly granted to the bank of St. Carlos, and which was deferred for this purpose. These two sources produced an annual amount of more than a million piastres (five millions of francs). There was established at the public treasury a special chest for receiving these funds, entirely distinct and separate from the other revenues of the state, and kept in the said chest under three keys, one in the hands of the minister of finance, the other entrusted to the governor of the council of Castile, the third to the treasurer general ; the receipt, the charge, and the application of these funds to

³ *Fondos y arbitrios*, funds and means. On the 17th May 1792, the Count d'Aranda being then minister, the surplus of these very funds had been destined for the progressive extinction of the debt in arrear ; but this measure was attended with inconvenience : it pressed unequally on the commons, and moreover it was easy to render it illusory, by so arranging as that there should be no surplus.

the annual extinction of the vales, and the special care of the extinction itself, belonged to the royal council of Castile.

2d Loan.

Creation of vales or royal bonds for the sum of eighteen millions of piastres (ninety millions of francs).

In virtue of his Majesty's order of the 8th September of the same year, and bearing interest at four per cent. on the entire nominal value, without deduction or charge of any kind. The royal order decreed that the sinking fund should be increased by a million of piastres; 1st. arising from a supplement of seven millions of reals (or 1,750,000 francs) to the annual subsidy of the clergy, conformably to the brief of his holiness obtained to this effect; 2dly. of an extraordinary and temporary contribution from all leasehold land, real property, royal, jurisdictional, and other rights; which contribution was raised to six per cent. on the value of the lease, but with an exception in favour of every proprietor who himself farmed, or superintended the cultivation on his own account. There was likewise levied, still for the same purpose of the sinking fund, five per cent. on the net produce of royal and jurisdictional rights, and the four per cent. on leases of houses and manufactories, with the exception of those inhabited by the proprietors themselves, or employed on their account. This latter contribution was by no means novel, for it had been sub-

stituted for that of the *civil fruits*; 1st. to render that contribution more effective; 2dly. to avoid the difficulties of that of the *civil fruits*, which could never be regularly established; in fact, this latter contribution, ill understood, and already odious under the ministry of Moniño and Llerena, had only met with partial success in some provinces, and produced, on the final computation, no benefit to the treasury. The sound and politic views of the government may clearly be discerned in the royal decree of the 8th September.⁴

⁴ Royal Decree.—“This creation of eighteen millions of piastres has appeared to me the most prompt mode, and the least onerous to the state, considering the known result of the former creation of the month of February of this year.

It is assigned from funds which secure the extinction of the principal and the payment of the interest; the operation will proceed altogether independently of the ordinary revenues of the crown, which being, as they are, proportioned to the current charges and expenditure, ought to remain altogether distinct from the extraordinary expenses occasioned by the war. In conformity with these motives,” said his Majesty, “wishing to secure the payment of the new obligations and debts, as they become contracted, and considering that this mode is the most advisable for maintaining public credit and removing all uncertainty, various sources have been proposed to me as proper for augmenting the sinking fund, instituted by my decree of the 16th January of the present year. I have submitted these proposals to the council of state, which, observing that the heavy burthens were already imposed on the poorer classes, who are serving both in purse and person, conceived that the funds destined to the payment of the extraordinary debts, ought to be furnished principally by our subjects who are proprietors, and who live on their revenues. Now as these constitute the class upon whom fall the contribution of the *civil fruits* (royal decree of

3d Loan.

Charles III. wishing to give full security to the debt of the state contracted in his reign, and to meet, at the same time, the expenses of the war with Great Britain, raised a loan, to be either redeemable or as a life annuity, at the choice of the capitalists. This loan was only partially effected, the termination of the war having rendered the money unnecessary which the treasury had for a moment required. However, many of

of the 29th June 1785), hitherto imperfectly organised in most of the provinces, and as the small produce of this contribution has barely sufficed to cover the ordinary expenses and obligations of the state; the council has decided that it would be proper to suppress it, and replace it by an extraordinary and temporary contribution exclusively applicable to the sinking fund, at the same time not extending to those provinces already liable to the old contribution Persuaded of the justice of these reasons, so conformable to my paternal intentions, and my constant desire of favouring the less fortunate classes of my subjects, by my decree of this day, addressed to Don Diego Gardoqui, my secretary of state for the financial department, I suppress the said contribution of *civil fruits*, as you will see from the copy of my decree above mentioned, and I establish an extraordinary and temporary one, having for its sole object the progressive extinction of the *royal sales*; the royal council shall be charged with the collection and the application, as already stated, of the receipt and of the ten per cent. derived from the *fruits and property* of the commons of the kingdom, in order that these amounts may never be confounded with any other revenue of the state, and that under no pretence they may be diverted from the purpose to which they are destined. The council will scrupulously watch that they are assigned to the sinking fund, and will employ all the zeal requisite in so important an operation," &c.

these obligations issued at the commencement of the operation, and others, arising from the arrears of the reign of Ferdinand VI. were in public circulation when Charles IV. ascended the throne. His first care was to have the total amount recognized and classified. In a short time there was paid off and cancelled the sum of twenty-six millions of reals (six millions and a-half of francs).

The debts thus liquidated or classified of Philip V. and Ferdinand VI. amounted to 91,336,800 reals (about twenty-three millions of francs). The necessity of acquitting these debts, and the enormous charges of the war with the French Republic became pressing. The Government conceived the thought of reproducing and completing the old loan of Charles III. It was wished, by this means, to convert the old debt into a current one, to make of the two but one consolidated mass, free the treasury from debts then payable, and interest the old creditors in the success of the operation by the value given to their renovated titles. This matter having been maturely considered by the council of state, it was determined to offer to the creditors an advantageous employment for their old obligations, which they were to have the power of converting into bonds or shares in the new debt. The old debts were received at the treasury at their nominal value, to the amount of a third or a fourth of the capital which it was wished to employ. This investment of capital was to be payable by

the state, and was to produce an interest of three per cent. The two-thirds being furnished in ready money, royal vales, or bank notes, and the other third in old debts, also with an interest of seven per cent. on the two heads, or of eight on the one alone; Spaniard or foreigner, every one was admitted to take part in the loan; and with regard to the latter, an express clause guaranteed, under the royal word, the payment even in case of war with the power of which he was the subject.

The revenues on the tobacco of Europe and America were assigned as a special security, keeping apart from the amount the sum necessary for the payment of the annual interest. In order to give to the obligations of the crown all the necessary force, the king stigmatized solemnly, as an error always to be reprobated, *the opinion tending to regard the treasury as incompetent, when it has contracted engagements*. His Majesty, besides, devoted and assigned, in general, all the revenues of the state to the payment of the said loan, and submitted to the ordinary courts all disputes on the subject between the lenders and the treasury. To add to these modes of security in the new claims or recognizances for the sums furnished, there was made no further mention of the first origin of these vales, which, from that time, became one and the same with other debts. The treasury was to admit them without distinction, and to give the recognizances without any charge.

*4th Loan.*

New creation of royal vales of thirty millions of piastres, (150,000,000 of francs) by virtue of the Royal order of his Majesty and of the Council. 4th March 1795.^a

At the same time, and very opportunely the government received from the court of Rome the

^a Royal order.—“ Although to meet the serious wants and exigencies of the war there have been imposed temporary burthens on employed capital, and specific contributions on the more affluent classes of my subjects, sparing as much as possible the poorer class ; considering that these products, although considerable, are yet insufficient to cover the expenses of this campaign, according to the conditions and plans which have been furnished to the council, it has appeared less burthensome to create a quantity of *royal vales* proportioned to the efforts required by the justice and the necessity of the common defence. This mode is in truth more simple, and will alone remove the difficulties of our present position. For if, as is pretended, the manufacturing and agricultural wealth of Spain is inferior to that of the other European powers, it is still sufficiently considerable to pay the interest of a debt, which, were it raised to double its present amount, would not still reach a tenth of the known debt of those powers. Notwithstanding this, prudence and other considerations of the public good have always led me to use with moderation the resources offered by loans, and to provide before-hand a security for the payment of the interest, as well as the progressive extinction of the capital, in order that there may exist no doubt as to the preference to be given to the said royal bonds over every other tax, and that they may possess a special credit in their character of *current money*.

“ Such has been the rule I have observed in this new loan. The reimbursement of it is guaranteed by assignments already known, without reckoning the others, which will be successively decreed,

apostolic concessions which, after long discussions in the council of Castile, had been demanded of his Holiness. It was essential to maintain the public credit by all possible means ; these concessions were capable of contributing greatly to this object ; they were, 1st, thirty-six millions of reals (nine millions of francs), which the clergy of Spain, of the Indies, and of the adjacent isles, were to pay as an *extraordinary subsidy* once only in the year, and thirty millions besides (seven millions and a-half of francs), which the same clergy were to continue paying as an ordinary contribution ; 2dly, the application to the royal treasury of the revenue of the *dignities, prebends*, and other ecclesiastical benefices in the king's gift (curacies excepted), which should be then vacant, or might become so during the whole of the time necessary to meet the expences already incurred, and for the extinction of the royal vales.

It was thus that, without compromising our independence by the admission of foreign subsidies, without affecting our own credit by loans from

decreed, so that the object may be fulfilled with exact punctuality ; in virtue of which I have authorised the creation of *thirty millions of piastres*, that is to say, twenty-one millions of vales, of one hundred and fifty piastres ; and nine millions of vales of six hundred piastres. Both the one and the other shall be issued the 15th March of the present year, from No. 223,501 to 378,500 inclusively, constituting a sequence to the preceding creations, with interest at four per cent., and without charges for negotiation," &c.



abroad, the government of Charles IV. succeeded in covering the enormous expenses, the losses occasioned by the reverses of the former campaign. The armies received numerous reinforcements ; the matériel of these armies was immediately restored, and the royal navy augmented : all concurred in preparing for the third campaign which saved the kingdom, and enabled us to obtain an honourable and solid peace. If some unreasonable persons blamed these dispositions, eminently national, I might even say, religious, since, in coming forward to the support of the state, the clergy were at the same time supporting the cause of the altar : the great mass of Spaniards at large blessed the supreme Pontiff, who consecrated the measures adopted, and the wise monarch whose ministers, by removing a multitude of obstacles, had boldly opened this road to safety.

I must, however, request of my readers to remark, that it is from this epoch of my administration that must be dated the hatred, the system of calumny, of my enemies. . . .

The choice of a person, worthy, capable, faithful, and at the same time, agreeable to the clergy, proved at once the consideration of the government for the church, and the disinterestedness of the authorities. Don Pedro Joachim de Murcia was nominated ; he was an old servant of the crown, and a member of the council of Castile. Every one was acquainted with his elevated character ; none

had ever assailed his exalted reputation. A government less pure than that of Charles IV. would not have chosen so scrupulous a depository.

5th Loan.

(31st July 1795): 240,000,000 of reals, (sixty millions of francs) repayable in twelve years.— See the conditions in the royal order, published by the council.⁶

⁶ Royal order.—“To meet the expenses of the war, and wishing to spare my subjects new contributions, and the inconvenience of a superabundance of *royal vales*, which, by their character of a common currency, necessarily affect the prices of provisions and merchandize, after having adopted the most simple and economical means to provide for the interest as well as the extinction of the former loans; by the unanimous advice of my council of state, in the sitting of the 31st July last, I have resolved to open a loan of 240,000,000 of reals, divided into 240,000 shares (*actions*) of 10,000 reals each. . . . There shall be received for this purpose, without distinction, *current money* and bonds or *royal vales* of the former loans at their integral value, comprehending therein the interest, and to reckon from the day of the delivery; there shall be paid five per cent. till the reimbursement of the capital, which shall take place in the term of twelve years, dating from 1797, at the rate of twenty millions of reals a-year. There is further granted to the lenders, for this once only, a premium of three per cent. upon the capital, amounting to the sum of 7,200,000 reals, which shall be distributed by way of lottery amongst the 240,000 shares, under the regulations and in form following:

“First Article: This loan is declared national debt. All the revenues of the state are affected to the repayment; and, as a special pledge, the produce and revenue of the customs at Cadiz.

“Second and third Articles: Form of the orders to be delivered to the lenders.

“Fourth

It is not necessary to be well versed in these financial matters to perceive, that if on the one hand the government had interests to manage with a host of creditors, whose generosity had provided it with the means of continuing the war, nevertheless its principal object was to secure the credit of the *royal bonds*, to prevent fluctuation, to maintain the level of value in the state, to diminish the price of

“ Fourth Article: Permission granted to the lenders to receive the interest accrued, and the capital at the proper time, either at the public treasury, or from the provincial treasurers.

“ Fifth Article: Indication of the series of the numbers.

“ Sixth Article: Indorsements prohibited: it is allowable to sell, make over, transfer, but by a public and notarial Act: formalities to be observed.

“ Seventh Article: Payment of the fractions of interest incurred up to the new year, from which the successive interest is to date.

“ Eighth Article: Foreigners shall be allowed to concur up to the end of November next.

“ Ninth Article: Designation of the lottery shares, after the realization of half the loan: formality and solemnity of the drawing.

“ Tenth Article: Fixing of the second drawing for the second year, after the realization of a determinate portion of the loan; exclusion of the lenders who shall come too late, unless the Government consents to admit them to come forward.

“ Eleventh Article: This loan, in short, like the preceding ones, having no other design than that of contributing to the national defence, I solemnly declare, in my own name and that of my successors, that in case of war with the powers whose subjects shall be holders of shares or orders of this loan, the interest and principal belonging to them shall be paid punctually, as if in a state of peace, renouncing all rights of detention or reprisal, without the possibility of there arising, on this point, any species of doubt or contestation,” &c.

specie, and above all to strengthen morality, which is easily lost amidst the proceedings and speculations of the exchange. These were the views of the government, which was giving an example of good faith. The bank orders, and the vales or royal orders, were received at all the treasuries of the state, at their nominal value: the interest was paid with punctuality. Commerce acted in the same spirit, and even anticipated the views of government. Every measure was grounded on the general interest, and all these operations had more or less for their object to prepare the way for those reforms or ameliorations, which it would have been impossible to attempt directly, without provoking the resistance of the privileged orders.

A few days after the issue of the fifth loan, a new fund was added by royal order of the 24th August, to those of the sinking fund of the *royal vales*. I will repeat some passages of this order, which display the frankness and simplicity of official language at that period. The government writers did not endeavour to evince a vain eloquence; but they had good sense, and above all, a high respect for truth.⁷ Under the same date,

⁷ Royal order.—“Convinced of the imperative necessity of consolidating the public credit, and extinguishing, as soon as possible, without, however, affecting industry, the *royal vales*, created on the occasion of the last war, I have caused to be examined, by the members of the royal council, in whom I place entire confidence, the various means suited to covering the expences and augmenting the funds for this extinction, established
by



and always with the same motives, another royal order assigned a drawback of fifteen per cent. upon

by my decree of the 12th January 1794. My council of state was at the same time intent upon this subject with all possible zeal, and, according to their unanimous advice, I have approved of several of those means already successively presented to the cognizance of the public. I have now resolved, that for the distinct unchangeable object of being applied to the extinction of the said vales, there be imposed a tax of fifteen per cent. on all the fixed property and real or royal rights acquired henceforth by mortmain in the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, and other parts of my dominions, by what title soever held, whether gratuitous or conditional, by testament, last will, or donation during life. This deduction will be but a slight compensation for the loss of the rights of the treasury, in the sales or exchanges which suffer no deduction, and the losses to the state caused by the stoppage of circulation of the property which falls under the power of the said mortmain,* such as the rights of alienation and of long leases,

* Would it not have been better, it may be said, to prohibit formally all acquisition by mortmain, and thus cut off the evil at the root? I have a plain answer to this question. What prevents at the present time (1834) the government of Spain, armed with a national representation, with its two Chambers of Peers and of Deputies of the kingdom, from adopting a multitude of reforms pointed out, and which the two reactions of 1814 and 1823 rendered abortive? Forty years of progress, from 1795 to 1834, have notwithstanding passed on. This is my first observation. Let us pass on to the second:—The right of property ought to be respected, in order to stimulate further the natural ambition to acquire. Every opposition to this right necessarily chills the love of labour, whose end is to produce, to possess, and which consequently augments the mass of the public wealth. The law ought never openly to thwart the affections and views of the possessor. Put, if you will, some sort of restraint or indirect obstacle to his disposing of his property in a way disadvantageous to the society of which he is a member, but let him, nevertheless, be allowed to fulfil the intentions by which he is influenced; without which he will no longer make the same efforts, or he will make none to augment production and the general wealth. The only stimulants to labour are

all sorts of property, rents, and jurisdictions belonging to the crown, converted into entails.

leases, rights, judicial sales, definitive or reserved in favour of mortmain, exchanges, charges, or pensions on defined secular property, the founding of benefices lay or ecclesiastical in perpetuity or redeemable, all to be subject to this contribution or drawback ; there shall be at present no exception, saving that in favour of capital placed or vested by ecclesiastical corporations, or by holders in mortmain against the state, or converted into royal vales. I declare, in order to avoid all ambiguity on the subject, that this denomination of mortmain applies to seminaries, houses of instruction, hospitals, and all pious foundations which are not under my immediate protection, or whose property should be administered by a community or by ecclesiastics, &c. &c. The rest of the Order contains the rules and formalities to be observed, in order that this contribution might be real and effective towards the definitive increase of the sinking fund."

Royal decree.—" Profoundly affected by the constant generosity

pecuniary interest or glory; an exalted love of country, disengaged from every secondary interest, is the most noble sentiment of the human breast. But this heroic sentiment is unusual. From a sort of fatality, he that takes it for his guide lives surrounded by enemies. The fraternity of the envious and the wicked will always be numerous and powerful. Let governments strive to implant and foster this love of country, but let them not too far constrain the natural affections, the weaknesses of humanity. Extract from these all possible advantage. Favour the knowledge that corrects manners, and which can turn even evil to the profit of the state ; above all do not cross too violently the natural affections of which man has so much difficulty to divest himself. Such were my opinions at the time of my first entrance into the world. My head blanched with age, enlightened by experience painfully acquired, still entertains the same ideas. It will be seen, in the course of these memoirs, that my principles have been always the same. My doctrine is to be seen in my acts : I venture to affirm it, without fear of being accused of exaggeration, that never has any Spanish minister had it more at heart than myself, to excise and honour the sacred love of country.



(Majorats or substitutions):—When the royal council should have granted its authority thus to circumscribe property, and to confine its

rosity and ardour, with which my subjects have manifested their attachment to my person on the great occasions that have just taken place, I cannot rest satisfied with having put an end to the calamities of war by an honourable and advantageous peace, a worthy result of so many loyal sacrifices; I desire further to recompense my people, and enable them to experience from this moment the effects of my royal beneficence: I grant them immediately a relief which my paternal love was long endeavouring to bring about, whilst awaiting those ulterior concessions which I promise, as soon as the engagements contracted during the war shall have been fulfilled. The contribution designated under the name of ordinary and extraordinary service, and the fifteen per thousand had always appeared to me injurious to the progress of agriculture and to the general welfare of the kingdom, because these two imposts affected an interesting and numerous class which is least favoured, and which contributes most to production, and to the common defence, both in money and person; has not this class, nevertheless, poured forth its blood and its means with a devotedness beyond all praise or compensation? According to these just motives, and until I can obtain for all my subjects in general the relief I am contemplating in their favour, I commence with testifying my benevolence towards those who are so usefully employed in reproducing the fruits of the earth, in creating that abundance which augments the public wealth, and who, besides, are the poorest and the most burdened with taxes. This class has need of support and protection to recover itself, to improve its condition and enjoy at ease the fruit of its labour.

“ In consequence I have resolved wholly to suppress the contributions of ordinary and extraordinary service, and of the fifteen per thousand.

“ I order that from next year and thenceforward, they cease to be exacted in the provinces of the kingdom where they were established,” &c. &c.

movement, the supplements added to these entails, by testament or last will, were subject to this drawback, with the single exception of the capital which the testator or donor preferred to place in the public treasury, or to employ on royal vales. . . . This order, as well as the preceding ones, was only published on the report of persons worthy of entire confidence, and on the unanimous vote of the council of state ; the individuals aimed at by these financial measures, were variously affected by them : but they were applauded by the nation, and beneficial to it. Complaints and murmurs were raised against me alone, as head of the cabinet ; gratitude, the expression of which is always more subdued and measured, divided her tribute amongst all my colleagues.

Thus sailed the vessel of public finance with a prosperous wind, so that the excellent Charles IV. had the satisfaction of seeing one part of his wishes accomplished. The people were exempt from more than one contribution.

This favour or protection, thus spontaneously granted to agriculture, under circumstances when so prompt a reduction of the public burthens was little expected, created a marked conviction of the value of peace, and strengthened the public confidence which had not yet in any degree been withdrawn from the Government.

Gratitude amounted almost to enthusiasm, when it was seen that this unexpected reduction was brought about with perfect good faith.



The part of the provincial rentes which the king was suppressing were for a long time applied to old debts of the state (*Juros*⁸). The government assumed the responsibility of these old debts, whose origin was removed to a far earlier period than that of the accession of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain.

Moderation, sincerity, good faith towards all, constituted the system pursued, as much from a principle of justice as from the well understood interest of the state.

Next came the suppression of the temporary deduction from the salaries of public servants . . .

Many of the communes were exempted from payment of their arrears of contribution, especially in those parts which had suffered most from the ravages of war; some of these communes received, moreover, aids which they had not applied for . . . There was shown a marked predilection in favour of the widows, the orphans, and the wounded of the soldiery. Pensions, or proportionate sums of money, were distributed to them. Every loyal act met with its recompense; every loss, its indemnity: thus was acquitted the debt of the country. The monarch, eager to do good, gave no rest to

⁸ *Juros*, old claims against the state, which date as far back as the reigns of the catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, successively pared down and diminished, but the total of which was still important in amount, although reduced to the twenty-fifth part of their primitive value, . . . one in twenty-five.

his ministers till these sacred duties were accomplished. No claim was rejected ; attention was, above all, paid to those of the humbler class, who have not the means of procuring redress.

The government of the king was recovering its vigour ; all was progressing with ease and regularity ; the wounds of the state were beginning to close, when the hateful policy of England began to raise up new storms.

It became necessary to discover new resources—to renew our sacrifices—to sustain the public credit under the shock which the maritime war was about to produce. The good-will of the commercial interest seconded the efforts of authority to support the currency of the paper money, and to prevent fluctuations, which excite and stir up every kind of mistrust. The recent peace with the French Republic had already allowed the reduction of half the issues of the fifth loan of 240,000,000 of reals, opened in the last year of the war.

This loan, favourable to circulation, and even to the royal vales, which were received for their full nominal value and as ready money, was again called into action.* The success it had had,

* Royal Order of the 7th July 1796.—“ You know that by my royal order of the 19th August 1795, published in virtue of my decree of the second of the same month, a loan was opened of 240,000,000 of reals to meet the expenses of the war, taking, at the same time, suitable measures to secure at once the payment of the interest and the extinction of the principal The cessation of the war having allowed
breathing



the good effects it had produced on the paper currency, in meeting the wants of commerce, which

breathing time, and my Government having no longer occasion for the whole of the amount, I had judged fit to suspend the further payments, one-half of which had already been effected, as well as the drawing of the premiums agreed on according to the principle of the operation But the present circumstances of Europe requiring that the greatest part of our land and sea forces should be kept in a state of readiness, there arise new expenses which it is impossible to discharge with the ordinary revenues of the Crown.* It has been shewn that the most ready and the most advantageous mode of meeting them, would be the realization of the half, as yet unissued, of the loan of 240,000,000 of reals, the repayment of which was secured beforehand by measures already taken ; that the completion of this loan would dispense with the necessity of having recourse to other taxes ; that the royal vales would be the more valuable, by having a part of the new funds devoted to the extinction of the said vales, and that by this disposition I should still be enabled to continued the reduction of heavy taxes of which my well-beloved subjects were beginning to feel the benefit.† After having submitted this matter to the examination of my council of state, and, conformably to their advice, I have ordained by another decree of the same day, that from
this

* This passage of his Majesty's order is sufficient to give the lie to those who accuse me of having availed myself of the leisure of peace to slumber on the bosom of pleasure, and of having neglected the navy and army. It is the king himself who takes care to justify me, as well as the council of Castile, by this declaration, addressed to the nation at large upon a fact, besides, of public notoriety. Thus it is with all the attacks that have been directed against me.

† Although the royal order does not enter into details, allusion is here made to the measures adopted by the commercial body towards the government for the purpose of supporting the credit of the royal vales, and to the noble and patriotic address which was presented to his Majesty, on proposing to him to complete the loan of the 240,000,000.

required its completion, determined the king and his council to prefer it to every other means of covering the expenses of the war with England.

6th Loan,

Of 100,000,000 of reals (twenty-five millions of francs) on the same conditions and in the same form as the preceding, opened the 15th July 1795.¹⁰

To this loan, guaranteed by the whole of the state revenues, was assigned a specific mortgage,

this time and till the end of December in the current year, either at the public treasury or at the provincial chests, there be received the funds that shall be lent, to be re-issued in shares (actions) of 10,000 reals each, until the completion of the 120,000,000 of reals remaining of the aforesaid loan, the repayment of which, as well as the payment of interest thereon, shall be made in the forms prescribed by my royal order above mentioned, together with the drawing of the premiums agreed on, as soon as the loan shall be completed; or at the beginning of the next year, as has been done for the part of the loan already realized Regard being had to the convenience and advantage resulting in all respects from the extinction of the royal vales, I will that, to augment the funds destined to this important object, all the principal in specie proceeding from this loan, be religiously applied to it," &c.

¹⁰ Royal Order.—“ The extraordinary expenses required for the defence, the honour, and the safety of the kingdom in the present conjuncture, demand new sacrifices; new resources must be raised. I have long reflected on the means necessary to obtain adequate funds without creating new taxes; considering that the less wealthy class of the country has not been able to enjoy the advantages of the loan of 240,000,000 opened by my decree of the 8th August 1795, because the shares were raised to the fixed sum of 10,000 reals each; and wishing to reconcile

that of stamped paper, an assured produce, free from every assignment upon it. It was offered to natives and to foreigners, with express renunciation of all right of sequestration, drawback, or reprisal, in case of war to which should be added another advantage announced in the royal order:—"As this loan is issued in favour of the less wealthy class, with a view to spare the holders the expense of powers of attorney, contracts of sale, justification of title, &c., the transfer of shares may be effected by simple indorsement."

Another advantageous condition was, that the part of the loan furnished in money should likewise be replaced in specie at the period of the definitive repayment.

The eagerness to full up this loan became such that the government found itself obliged, as it were, to raise it to sixty millions of reals more (fifteen millions of francs), which gave rise to another royal order of his Majesty.¹¹

reconcile the duty of meeting the expenses of the state with the interest of my subjects, who ought all to profit by the produce of the amounts which circumstances oblige us to borrow, I have resolved to authorise a new issue of 100,000,000 of reals in 25,000 shares of 4,000 each. For this loan there shall be received, without distinction, money and royal vales with annual interest at five per cent. from the day of the deposit of the amounts till their reimbursement, which shall take place in the term of twelve years, reckoning from the present month of July to the 30th June 1809. There is further granted to the lenders a premium of three per cent. distributed by lottery amongst the 25,000 shares," &c.

¹¹ Royal Order.—"The loan of 100,000,000 opened by my

These operations, useful, salutary, welcomed by public opinion, saved the people from a multitude of burthensome taxes, which, without this

my royal decree and order of council of the 12th and 15th July last, having been filled up with so much promptitude, that many persons, determined not to take the shares till the last moment, in order the longer to enjoy the advantages they offer in comparison with other investments of capital in the state, complain that they have not found any disposable shares;* and desirous on the other hand, to meet the actual wants of the treasury, which do not allow of delay for the realization of other well-considered means, to ensure the extinction of the debt, and maintain the public prosperity, I have resolved to increase the amount of the said loan, created by my royal decree and order of council, to sixty millions above the 100 already issued; which sixty millions shall be divided into 15,000 shares of 4,000 reals each, under the same rules and conditions adopted for the 25,000 shares preceding. The extinction of these last 15,000 shall commence in July 1810, the year immediately following that

* The capitalists found no other inconvenience in this, than the too early appointment of the time of repayment. Every one wished to be the last to be repaid, in order to profit the more by an advantageous investment: so that many came too late to take up the shares—the loan was already completed.

Nothing could convey a greater eulogium on the government which inspired so much confidence. Shall it be said that it was prodigal in stipulating such high interest? (for the interest on the last loan, including the premiums and other advantages, amounted, in fact, to more than eight per cent.) But let the matter be well weighed; let the results of these operations, the vigour given to the paper money; the lowering the price of specie; the mischiefs avoided by the absence of fluctuations, receive their due consideration; and it will appear, that in spite of this interest, in appearance so excessive, the public treasury and the general wealth lost nothing by it. What signified the eight per cent. at that period, when the capital and the interest did not remain, as in these latter times, in the palace, or in the hands of a few bankers, courtiers, stock-brokers, and other wolves, the true leeches of the state? At the time of which I speak, nothing was nominal, artificial—all was real and undisguised.

happy resource, it would have been necessary to impose, or retain in full force. The rich bore the weight; they willingly accepted the burthen, their own interest being identified with that of the country. . . . All these financial changes, impressed with the same character, had for their object to spare the poor and laborious class, to restore capital to circulation, and support the credit of the state. . . .

I will confine myself to reciting some of these means:—

1st. The assessment, or taxation, redeemable by the public treasury of unemployed capital, left in deposit, or destined to fall into mortmain and into the hands of the clergy.¹²

that in which is to be effected the extinction of the others, and shall be completed in 1816, according to the order established ; that is to say, 2,000 shares shall be annulled in each year, and in the last year the 3,000 remaining. The payment of the interest of these shall take place at the same time as that of the 25,000 preceding," &c.

¹² Here is the important part of the royal order issued the 3d September 1793. "The great expenses of the present war, the most costly the Spanish monarchy has ever had to maintain, oblige me to take extraordinary measures ; it is moreover indispensable to provide with punctuality, as has been hitherto done, for all the other wants of the state.

" In these grave circumstances, it was incumbent to consider the best means to be adopted, without too much burdening my well-beloved subjects. It has been felt, that one of the most equitable, and which, without injuring any one, will be advantageous to the public weal, consists in taking advantage of the capital existing in deposit, or destined to be invested in favour of entails (majorats), substitutions, ecclesiastical patronage,

2d. The revocation of all privilege or exemption from the payment of tythe. It is to be observed, that the general class of agriculturists were subject to this heavy tax, and on the other hand, that certain persons, and opulent corporations and classes, had found means of procuring a dispensation from it, by old concessions from the Holy See. In consequence, many churches were destitute of the funds necessary for the service of the altar, and the public treasury lost its part (*Tercias Reales*), the king's third, which it ought to have derived from that source. The Government soli-

age, pious foundations, &c.—a capital at this moment, and for more or less time past, withdrawn from circulation. . . . The example for this was furnished by my august predecessor, in the last war with England. . . . By disposing of this capital, it is possible to meet the expenses of the just war in which I find myself engaged: it is to spare the holders of entails, and those having title to those pious foundations, the inconvenience of being themselves deprived of the interest of their capital, and the public the loss from the non-circulation, buried as it were, and lost, or exposed to every species of casualty.

“ After having attentively weighed these considerations, and received the reports, which were communicated at an extraordinary sitting convoked for this purpose the 12th September last, the council have proposed to me, and I adopt the following resolution: Immediate use shall be made of this capital, in order that, on the one hand, the will of the founders may be religiously fulfilled, and, on the other, that an end may be put to the losses above-mentioned. In consequence, the said capital shall be taken at a redeemable rate, on an interest of three per cent., the highest the laws authorize in contracts of this nature; and I assign, as guarantee for the payment, the produce of the sale of tobacco, as was done in 1780 by the king my father,” &c.



cited and obtained a brief from his Holiness, annulling these privileges. Amidst so many wise measures adopted at this period, this met with the most opposition. The high classes, hitherto exempt, felt it deeply; but the administration pursued its system with becoming firmness. The people, and in general all that were taxable, expressed great satisfaction.

3d. The produce of buildings, and immoveable property belonging to corporations, and the placing of this produce on the revenue of tobacco, with interest at three per cent. . . . The ministry, the council of state, and that of Castile, employed themselves simultaneously, and by turns, and with equal ardour, on these matters of public economy. They were desirous of bringing back into circulation a mass of capital held in mortmain, and by religious corporations: a stagnant wealth, and which was wasting away in the hands of their pious holders. This was one of the greatest ulcers in the state; to remedy it was a primary object, as far as respect to the rights of property and the means of the government allowed, in order to give life and animation to this capital, and at the same time to indemnify the claimants on the funds. The industrious class were to profit by it. This vast project was in course of gradual accomplishment. They began with the sale of the property of the corporation. From the end of 1795, the value of the immoveable property had doubled: agricul-

tural produce had increased in the same proportion. See the royal order of the 21st February 1798.¹²

Let us now pause.

This is what has been done in regard to the finances and the administration, during the time I was at the head of the government, from November 1792 to the end of March 1798, when I was allowed to quit the ministry.

I could not have been more brief: there will be found in this *exposé* both lengthiness and repetition; but it was necessary to bring forward the official documents in support of this species of statement. It forms an essential part of the history of our country. My narrative, if less explicit, and

¹² Royal Order.—“The communes of the kingdom possess, besides other edifices in town and country, certain dwelling-houses, the repairs of which absorb almost all the rent, which, moreover, is never proportioned to the capital, and when such houses fall to ruin there arises an insupportable charge upon the commune. The disputes and law-suits induced by the settling of the rent, the claims of the tenants, and other accidents, still further diminish the small produce of this property. For this reason, and because the general interest requires that this said property should not be thus agglomerated, and above all, that it should enter into circulation, I have resolved by my decree, communicated to the council the 7th of this month, that the properties above-mentioned should be sold by public auction, &c. (formalities to be observed in the sale). The produce shall be charged against the revenue derived from tobacco, at the rate of three per cent. interest, according to the regulations prescribed for the taxation of capital resulting from the public deposits; the Communes will not have to pay the dues of Alcala in this kind of sale. Interest at three per cent. shall be guaranteed to them,” &c.



resting on my own simple assertion, would have been incomplete ; I had to refute popular exaggerations, of which my greatly-calumniated administration was the object The purposes, the sums expended, the means employed, the forms observed—all is now known. It is seen with what sincerity, what intelligence, individuals and the first bodies in the state endeavoured, under circumstances the most difficult in which the Spanish monarchy was ever placed, to provide against events, and maintain the honour and independence of the country. Enlightened men, and men practised in business, will appreciate our efforts : they will readily perceive that, exposed as we were to unforeseen conflicts, it was scarcely possible to come off with better success. If there were errors and mistakes, it will at least be allowed that the ministry acted with purity of motive, good faith, and patriotism.

What has since occurred ? The power fell into the hands of those who were so loud in their accusations against our administrative and political government : they have but too well justified me by their own conduct. Is not the moral and financial position of Spain, from 1814 to 1832, a matter of public notoriety, too clear to be misunderstood ?

If any one should pretend to consider as exorbitant the expenses occasioned by the war which saved the honour and integrity of the country, I should desire him to observe, that at my entrance

into the ministry there was nothing prepared to sustain that inevitable contest—a contest rendered so complicated, from the convulsive movements of France, our immediate neighbour, which was then agitated by a revolutionary storm.

I will add, that every want was provided without the loss of a single moment: the military organization was imperfect; immemorial disorder reigned in every branch of the service. Could I remedy this in an instant? I had to bear the mischances, the severe trials of three campaigns, of which the second was marked by reverses. . . . Great and unexpected losses are only repaired by the employment of resources commensurate to the emergency. We had before us a powerful and formidable enemy; this was not the time for reform and economy. It remains to be said that this war was carried on by Spain at her own charge: we were not provided with any foreign aid or subsidy. The loans were all national; and these loans, which without doubt served to keep up the credit of the state, did not in reality produce very large sums to the public treasury.

If this be well considered, and if we add, that immediately afterwards we had to encounter a new war with the English, without any provocation from us,—is it not a matter of astonishment that we should have gone on from 1792 to 1798, without loading the people with taxes, without the general service of the state being a single moment interrupted, without any delay being experienced.



in the payment of the interest of the public debt ? We may further add, that in the midst of this crisis, industry and agriculture continued its rapid improvement. All comparisons are odious ; (they are repugnant to my feelings;) but let one be allowed to me, at which none will have a right to take offence.

Forestalling us by a few months, the King of Prussia signed a peace with France; during the first year of the war, he received subsidies from England and Holland at one and the same time. The number of soldiers of all arms which he had engaged to furnish only amounted to 62,400 men. He received £300,000 sterling for the first expenses; £50,000 a month, independently of rations of bread and forage; and £100,000 over and above, for the charges of their return to their own country, at the end of the campaign. Notwithstanding these advantages, when the moment for treating occurred in 1794, his Prussian Majesty hastened to make peace. This monarch, in his manifestoes, published at the time, declares that one of the principal motives of his determination, was the state of his finances, which endangered the public welfare of his kingdom.

Now Spain was, and always remained, single, depending on herself, supported only by her own resources; the armies that she put on foot were at least twice as numerous as those of the King of Prussia. . . . We went on to the third

campaign ; the war, too, was carried on, at one and the same time, by sea and land ; and yet, Spain was neither discouraged, nor even seriously affected with regard to her finances.

Enough for the glory of the administration over which I had the honour to preside.

CHAPTER XL.

Don Francisco Saavedra and Don Gaspar Melchior Jovellanos
are called to the Ministry.

*Last measure adopted to secure public Credit before
my Retirement.*

THE national outcry was for war: it was carried on with energy. After a contest of three years, Spain desired peace; the treaty of Basle was signed. In both circumstances, I had fulfilled the wishes of the country.


Harmony having been re-established with France for the preceding two years, I had no further ambition than for repose. I sought permission of the king to give up the direction of the ministry.

Far from yielding to my entreaty, Charles IV. would absolutely retain me near his person. There can be no difficulty in conceiving that I already had enemies. In order to secure me from their machinations, the king was pleased to load me with honours, and to such a degree, that the monarch seemed each time to regret that he could raise me no higher. Such favours did not produce the good effect he had wished to obtain from them; envy was superadded to malevolence. The English cabinet, whose exorbitant preten-

sions I had opposed, secretly encouraged the party opposed to me; and, within the country, the men of the old routine, whether administrative or financial, and those who beheld the popular interests consulted at the expense of the classes hitherto privileged, found a pretence for opposition in the unavoidable expenses of the war.

Firmly resolved to withdraw from office, I pointed out to his Majesty the fittest persons, in my estimation, to manage the government. It was important to find out safe and able hands. Don Francisco Saavedra and Don Gaspar Melchior were highly recommended by public opinion, the one as an enlightened minister, the other as versed in matters of legislation and political economy. I proposed them both to his Majesty, who immediately determined upon their nomination.

It will assuredly not be said that I chose creatures of my own, with a view to their applauding all that I had done, or consenting to become merely servile followers in my footsteps? These were not phantoms, men of straw: but I was sincerely anxious to lay down the burden of power and responsibility. I thought I had sufficiently discharged my debt of patriotism. Above all, I was fully convinced that my administration required no complaisant encomium on the part of my successors. I even continued to assist at the coun-



cil, with Saavedra and Jovellanos, for some months before I finally left the ministry.

All the acts of the government, from my entrance into the cabinet, at the end of 1792, till the end of 1797, having been placed under their inspection, without any reserve, any disguise, any exception, the system they adopted was precisely that which I had traced out and followed up myself. Nothing was thought of but to continue, and to realize by degrees the improvements pointed out, as they became opportune and practicable.

To seek out the means of reviving the springs of public wealth ; to remove gently the obstacles created by ancient errors or abuses, successively introduced ; to maintain the public credit, which our enemies wished to overthrow : these were the objects of my constant solicitude ; these were the aim and desire of the new administration, reinforced by the presence of these two statesmen. The first step taken on their entrance into the cabinet, and whilst I still held the nominal presidency, was to confirm all that had been antecedently done to secure the payment of the public debt, interest as well as principal ; that is to say, the guarantee of the debt and its gradual extinction.

All the preceding acts and decrees were again brought forward in a solemn law, which attested the perseverance of the government and its immoveable determination to maintain the obligatinos

contracted towards the creditors of the state, notwithstanding the expenses occasioned by the war with England ; the funds assigned, and the royal revenues pledged to this purpose being never to be confounded with the other resources of the state, destined to supply the means necessary for the current service.—(See the royal order issued to this effect the 9th March 1798.)¹

¹ Royal Order. —“ One of the principal objects that have fixed my attention since I came to the crown, has been to consolidate the debt of the state, whether by formally declaring that it was responsible for the engagements contracted by my august father, or by extending that guarantee to the debts of the preceding reigns, as far as our actual wants allow, and according to their particular nature ; or by fulfilling, with scrupulous exactitude, the new obligations resulting from the necessity of providing for the defence and maintaining the dignity of the monarchy.

“ I have therefore frankly manifested my adherence to the inviolable principle already laid down in the royal decree of 17th December 1782, *viz.* that the state being permanent, its obligations ought to be so likewise, when they have been contracted in its name by the legal authority which represents it ; that on this subject, no arbitrary exception is admissible ; and that the opinion ought to be rejected as erroneous, hurtful, and injurious to dignity and supreme authority, that kings are temporary, and that their engagements are binding only during their reign.

“ Wishing still further to improve this branch of administrative economy, to give new pledges to the creditors of the state, and to repress by wise and paternal measures the practice of speculation, or premiums of reduction in currency, of which the vales have become the object, notwithstanding the punctuality with which the accruing interest is paid, and the extinction of the capital is realized by the funds assigned for
the

This classic document marks the line of separation that I must point out to the attention of the

the purpose :* I have resolved to establish, and I do establish a sinking fund, entirely distinct from my royal treasury, under the following regulations, which shall henceforth be observed as fundamental and definitive laws on the subject.†

“ Art. 1. The principal object of the sinking fund is to provide for the payment of the interest, and the progressive re-payment of the capital of the royal vales, of the loans created by my decrees of the 2d August 1795, 12th July and 22d November 1797, of those effected in foreign countries, and of every other whose acquittance concerned the public treasury up to this period, without prejudice to the other parts of the national debt, which may yet have to be placed to the charge of the said sinking fund.

Art. 2. There shall be deposited in this chest all the funds applicable to the extinction of the royal vales, in virtue of my decrees of 12th January and 29th August 1794, 25th February and 21st August 1795, 23d January 1796, and the ordinance of the 12th July of the same year, that is to say, the annual
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* This single document is sufficient to prove that the government, faithful to its promises, had punctually fulfilled them ; that in spite of the pressure of the war, the interest of the public debt was paid, and a part of the capital extinguished, as had been determined at the beginning. This is a public and well known fact ; it is to the nation at large that the king addresses himself, and his Majesty well knew that it was impossible to contradict him.

† The reader has seen, in the preceding chapter, the decree of the 12th January 1794, established a sinking-fund under the inspection of the council of Castile, in a chest, the three keys of which were confided, one to the minister of finance, another to the governor of the council, and the last to the treasurer general, a chest entirely distinct from every other revenue of the state. It is evident, therefore, that this was not a new measure, but a simple confirmation of the first, to which were added some special directions to facilitate the operations of the government, and increase the confidence of the state creditor.

reader:—it is that of departure of an administration which is no longer mine. This is not the

ten per cent. upon all the funds and income (*fondos y arbitrios*) of the kingdom, whether there be a surplus or not; the entire produce of the duty on the exportation of piastres; that of the extraordinary contribution of the civil fruits; the extraordinary supplement of seven millions of reals (1,750,000 francs), added to the subsidies from the clergy; the produce of all the vacant benefices of the church; that of the fifteen per cent. on the value of property acquired in mortmain; the annual assignment of four millions of reals which I have withdrawn from the revenue of the salt mines and the produce of the *quadragesimal grant* in America.

“ Art. 3. There shall also be deposited in the said chest the sums appertaining to the interest of the royal vales in circulation, which sums are to be levied in money upon the general produce of the other various branches of the public revenue, until there shall have been made upon each a special assignment of a fourth, to be furnished in due proportions, according to the nature and the net amount of the returns.

“ Art. 4. These assignments shall not cease to have effect until after the entire extinction of the vales, and of every other sum borrowed by the state, or substituted for the said vales. Thus the sinking fund will be gradually augmented by the progressive difference between the sum deposited, according to the third article, and the sums paid for interest.

“ Art. 5. From the produce of the customs at Cadiz, specially applicable to the repayment of the loan of 240 millions of reals (sixty millions of francs) on the conditions settled by my decree of the 2d August 1795, there shall be deposited every month, and in equal portions, in the chest, the sums to be annually paid for the interest and capital from the 1st January 1799 to the same day of 1807, when the amount of the bonds (*cedules*) issued by the public treasury is to be reimbursed.

“ Art. 6. The revenue on stamped paper will likewise furnish to the chest the sums to be paid on the 1st July for the interest, and part of the principal of the loan of one hundred millions of reals (twenty-five millions of francs) created by my decree of
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place for praising or blaming it; I merely state that, where my responsibility ceases, commences the

the 12th July 1797, and raised to sixty millions more (fifteen millions of francs) by my other decree of 22d November.

Art. 7. There shall be given special assignments for the other loans, the payment of which is made over to the said chest, within the kingdom and without; it being understood that the principle is to be always admitted as an elementary and unalterable basis, that no obligation or engagement is to be contracted without a previous and adequate assignment, and that if, by any accident whatsoever, that assignment should prove insufficient, further provision shall be immediately made by the aggregation of sums taken from the other revenues, or general means of the state.

Art. 8. I give and confer ample powers and complete authority to those having the management of the chest, that, in order to hasten as much as possible the extinction of the vales and loans above-mentioned, they may subrogate or substitute in their place new loans of a less onerous character, by pledging or engaging, for security of the repayment of the capital and interest, the sinking fund itself, the assignments upon determinate revenues, and in general all the revenues of the public treasury, on condition that the form and terms of these loans shall be fixed and specified by ulterior decrees.

Art. 9. As soon as the funds, from whatsoever source arising, shall have entered the chest, and until they are taken out to satisfy the prescribed purposes, these funds may be employed provisionally, in such manner as may be judged most suitable and proper, above all for diminishing or restraining speculations upon the vales.

Art. 10. The employment of the said funds shall be regulated in such a manner that our subjects may enjoy the benefit of the successive reduction in the interest of money, which reduction must contribute to the progress of industry and commerce.

Art. 11. The chest is from this time established at the National Bank of St. Carlos, by means of which the funds may be brought from the provinces to Madrid. These funds shall be realized in the capital, without discount or other condition than
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responsibility of those who, in 1808, and especially from 1814 up to the present time, succeeded to

the fixed delay of forty-five days, between the local receipt in the provinces and their being placed at the disposal of the director of the chest at Madrid.

“ Art. 12. Orders shall in consequence be dispatched by my royal council, through the collector-general of the produce and revenues of ecclesiastical vacancies, and through the director-general of the receipts of the state, to the respective intendants, receivers, and administrators, in order that, in proportion to the receipts, and as soon as the periods of the assignments upon the revenues of the state shall have fallen in, the funds may be delivered at the Bank of Madrid, or to its agents and factors in the provinces, for which the latter shall give acknowledgments, awaiting the formal acquittances, given by the directors of the chest, as is customary at my royal treasury.

“ Art. 13. There shall likewise be given, by the commissary-general of the crusade, drafts upon the chapters and corporations that have to pay the extraordinary subsidy of seven millions annually, in two equal payments, the one at the end of June, the other at the end of December.

“ Art. 14. The president-judge of the receipts (*arribadas*) from America to Cadiz, shall transmit to the chest of discount at the Bank the sums coming from beyond sea, the *quadragesimal* contribution, and any other sum destined to the extinction, in proportion as the ships arrive in port.

“ Art. 15. The administration, the anterior management, the special functions of the chest, shall be entirely independent and distinct from the Bank ; a special director is exclusively entrusted with it under my orders, which shall be transmitted to him through the express channel of the finance minister.

“ Art. 16. For the greater accommodation of the public and the dispatch of business, there shall be established at the Bank, offices of direction of the chest, where the payment shall be made ; I shall appoint the officers, and their salary shall be paid by me.

“ Art. 17. The offices established at the general treasury for the renewal of the *vales*, which is to continue engaged upon them,

the ministry of my own period. This solemn act renewed and confirmed all the financial system

them, shall form the principal *contaduria* (control of accounts) of the sinking fund, and in this quality shall exercise a vigilant inspection over all its operations.

“ Art. 18. Although all the payments relative to the obligations mentioned in Art. 1st are to be effected in the offices of this *contaduria*, nevertheless, the royal vales, and orders or obligations of the loan of one hundred millions of reals, raised to sixty millions more, shall be renewed with the signatures of the treasurer-general on duty, and of the chief of the pay office (*contador*) of the said treasury, as heretofore.

“ Art. 19. On the first day of each month there shall be transmitted to me, by the minister of finances, the state of the chest, authenticated at the *contaduria*, comprising therein, without exception, that of all pending affairs; and in the month of January the chest shall furnish a general statement of the preceding year.

“ Art. 20. There shall likewise be remitted to the council, annually, a detailed statement of all the funds brought into the chest, or produced by these special assignments, or by its economical operations, expressing the quantity, the number, and the amount of the royal vales comprised in each act of extinction. *
“ Art.

* My earnest entreaties occasioned the adoption of this article; Saavedra and Jovellanos opposed it. 1st. They regarded it as an useless formality, considering the other guarantees which insured the correctness of the management, the right direction, and the just employment of the funds. 2dly. This measure, said they, may confuse and paralyze the operation of the chest. I agreed with them, that the royal council of Castile was not naturally called to exercise these acts of administration; but I strongly maintained, that in all civil affairs which intimately involved great state interests, it was not only advisable, but to a certain degree necessary, to give to the council a right of inspection. “ So long as Spain has not, as heretofore, a national representation, this council, venerable from its antiquity, standing high in public estimation, is the sole authority fitted to curb the abuses of the supreme power.” It was objected to me that such important attributes were not conferred by the laws in a categorical manner. I answered, “ That custom, long usage, granted them in reality,

of my administration, and fully secured the creditors of the state. The manœuvres of speculators had no longer any ground to work upon, and were necessarily brought to a stand. But it is difficult to extirpate this scourge ever attendant upon a public debt, even in the most prosperous times. It had made some progress amongst us, because no serious attempt had been made to repress it.

The war with France put in question our very existence—the peril was manifest—and every one saw his own involved the general interest.

“ Art. 21. The accounts prepared by the *Contaduria* with explanatory statements, shall be presented annually to be examined and passed by the tribunal of the *Contaduria Mayor* (Court of Accounts), in order to make known the existing amount. There shall be taken, on the 31st December, an inventory of all the assets in hand and on account, which shall be examined and corrected by three ministers or members of different tribunals, whom I shall appoint.

“ Art. 23. The annual state of the chest shall be printed and published, together with a recapitulation of facts and all necessary explanations, for the information and satisfaction of the public.

“ This being understood, you will communicate the orders and instructions respectively necessary to ensure its complete execution. Signed by the royal hand of his Majesty, 26th February 1798. To Don Francisco de Saavedra.

“ Published in council,” &c. &c. &c. &c.

reality, and that no tribunal, no newly-created institution, no person, how great soever the authority with which he was invested, would obtain such general confidence as that enjoyed by the council of Castile: a confidence especially necessary in an affair of public credit: “ In short,” said I, “ what evil can arise from an additional, an incorruptible witness, as to the manner in which the public interests are administered?” The article was then adopted.



It was not so with the war with England ; the danger to our national independence was no longer so impending ; the chances of this contest did not threaten the mass ; it was an ordinary collision, like those of which history, ancient or modern, offers us a thousand examples. The general interest was not visibly, palpably, bound up with individual interest ; and if honour or patriotism did not purify or direct the tendencies of the latter, it acted in a sense opposed to that of the state. Weakness, ignorance, cupidity, divers causes influenced men's minds. Many individuals forgot or misunderstood their first duty towards their country,—that of not thwarting the measures of government. There existed, besides, a party favourable to England,—a party, certainly not numerous, but sufficiently so to be obnoxious in various ways ; by exciting mistrust for instance, as to the solidity of public credit and of the paper currency. Merchants of enlightened mind energetically repelled such perfidious insinuations. The government resolved to fulfil its engagements at all costs, and speculation was restrained. Still the rise and fall took place, according to the more or less favourable occurrences of the war. The unexpected disaster of our splendid naval armament, at Cape St. Vincent, in the month of February 1797,² materially affected the price of the

² Our noble squadron, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line, of which seven were three-deckers, ten frigates, and other

royal vales; but this security rose again in an equal proportion, when intelligence was brought, in succession, of the defeat of the English before Porto Rico and of the glorious defence of the Canaries, where Nelson lost his arm. The rage for speculation, when the concurrence of loyalty and patriotism could alone support the ministry, excited general animadversion; commercial men of character were indignant at it. The council of state and the other special councils of finance, seeking for means to arrest this disorder, adopted the idea of taking up, at a discount, the royal vales, with the assistance of the chest destined to produce their extinction.

At the first glance, and considering the intended object, the idea appeared a happy one. Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, and the nearly unanimous opinion of the council, I could not help saying that I thought it inconsiderate, and even chimerical. “ We had a

smaller ships, might have prevented the junction of Admiral Parker with Sir John Jervis; and even the two English admirals having joined, the Spanish admiral ought to have beaten them, for his forces were superior. This deplorable event cost us four ships of war. Was it the fault of the government? It was the neglect, the excessive confidence of our admiral.* The council of war assembled at Cadix, under the presidency of Don Antonio Valdez, has settled public opinion on the subject. The admiral was condemned to the loss of his rank, deprived for ever of military command, and forbidden to present himself at court and to inhabit the chief town of a maritime department.

* Don Cordova.

war to maintain with an active and able adversary, —the British Government, to whom all means of aggression were alike. . . . One of two events must happen ; either the discount of the vales must be restricted to the holders, who will thus prove the absolute necessity they are under of having ready money ; and in this case, without speaking of the jealousies, the rivalries, which any marked preference will stir up, or of the perplexities thus entailed upon the direction, few persons really pressed by the state of their affairs, will consent to expose publicly their embarrassment ; people will prefer to make sacrifices in the management of private affairs, and without noise . . . or, the discount must be offered generally, without distinction of persons or circumstances . . . then the offer could not possibly be realised ; intrigues, reverses, a false alarm, would rouse cupidity ; all the world would press forward to demand their money Besides," said I, further, " whatsoever be the sum, whether great or small, employed in discounting, it is a wrong done to public credit ; it will soon be calculated that all that is taken from the fund of the chest, no more to be returned, will be wanting to meet the interest on its becoming due, to the promised extinction, and to the loans contracted under condition of definite repayment, according to the special institution of the chest whereas, so long as the latter shall faith-

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fully fulfil its obligations, as it has hitherto done, with the funds devoted to this purpose, public confidence is secure. Before adopting a measure which the bad faith of a few, or of several, might render altogether disastrous, and which would drag us into an abyss, let us rather seek to find employment for our royal vales. We have the good fortune to possess a king who only desires and regards the happiness of his people; and the government has a thousand resources to meet the public debt. Does there not exist an immensity of funds, both communal and belonging to the domains? Has not the crown immoveable property, its possession of which is unnecessary? Is there not a multitude of estates and properties in town and country which, without infringing on any right, and even to the great advantage of the actual owners, and of the nation at large, might be employed for redeeming the debt and augmenting the revenues of the state? The resources of the country are infinite; those of America are still untouched. Could we not treat or negotiate with Spanish houses which will be able to set in motion all such capital as remains paralyzed in our indolent hands? The measure lately proposed in the council, of calling in the Jewish capitalists, whose gratitude will willingly repay the protection of the government by generous sacrifices,—this measure, and others of the like nature, will raise our credit to the level, perhaps to a

higher level than that of England and of other nations.⁴ Let us unfold these resources, and then what need we care for our enemies, whoever they may be? Agitators are formidable when the government is weak—when it would drown itself in the smallest streamlet—when it dares not raise itself above the most wretched routine.”

I added many other observations, but without effect. The calling in of the royal vales was decided by the majority of the council. “Spanish loyalty,” they exclaimed, “which has never failed, and the satisfactory result produced by the means adopted, are the best pledges for the future.” Thus reasoned my colleagues. (See the royal order issued the 15th March 1798, a few days previously to my quitting the ministry.)⁵

⁴ Such were the means proposed by the worthy minister of the king, Don Pedro Varela, a good catholic undoubtedly, a very religious man, but superior to vulgar prejudices. “The expulsion of the Jews,” said he, “may have suited the policy of the epoch when that measure was adopted; it was not the less injurious to Spain, which it deprived of a part of her riches. Would it be dangerous now to recall those exiles, whose industry might be so useful to us? What would religion have to fear from the toleration granted to a sect which no longer makes proselytes, and which does not even desire them? Are we better catholics than the pope, and many other christian princes who admit Jews into their dominions? Almost all these rich capitalists still preserve a hereditary affection for this land; they have never ceased to cultivate its language: they would pay a large price for permission to return to their ancient country. And at what period has Spain ever stood in greater need of raising her industry to the level of that of other civilized nations.

⁵ Royal order.—“The extraordinary wants of the state, and

This measure relative to the discount, to which I absolutely refused my assent (and I was not the

my system of meeting them, by overburdening my subjects as little as possible, determined me to create royal vales. The abundance of this paper money and the cupidity of speculators, have turned to the injury of the public, a measure so simple and so reasonable for fulfilling the obligations of the treasury, without augmenting the existing taxes. To prevent this evil, I had adopted the plan of extinguishing by degrees the said vales, by ordering, in my decree of the 12th January 1794, that there should be established a sinking fund, to which was applied, with other assignments, the ten per cent. of the funds and properties (*fondos y arbitrios*) of the communes of the kingdom: this measure seemed to be the most equitable, the most proper for procuring an equitable distribution, instead of the contingent determined by the existing surplus, as was prescribed by the royal order of the 29th May 1792. . . . Although this surplus has been religiously applied to the object of its destination, it has not produced the effect I had hoped, of increasing the credit of the vales; to attain this object, I have resolved by my decree of the 26th February last, to create a sinking fund and discount fund at the same time, which, by the re-union of all the funds available to it, should not only proceed to the extinction of the said vales, but also to the discount or conversion of this property into money. Thus speculation having no longer any pretext, will cease to exercise a fatal influence upon the credit of the paper of the state.

“ The double operation of extinction and discount requiring more considerable resources, I have ordered that besides other assignments, and besides the annual ten per cent. of the communal funds, there be immediately paid into the said chest, the half of all the actual surplus in the kingdom. The council will deliver, through the intendants, the existing sums to the agents of the bank in every capital, in order that the latter may be equally bound to convey them to their destination; and that the exacting of these sums may not appear in any manner burthensome to my subjects, who have already seen them applied to the extinction of the debt, and without any interest; by an effect of my royal solicitude,



only one), was the determining cause, or immediate occasion of all the financial difficulties which very soon broke out. Though always influenced by the best intentions, those who took in hand the reins of government allowed themselves to adopt hazardous and complicated operations, till then unknown in our country, and consequently ill-understood. To launch into the midst of the ocean, and attempt to navigate without experienced sailors, would be rashness even on the part of the best pilot. Heavy disappointments, multiplied embarrassments, deplorable accidents, signalized the three years during which I was removed from public affairs and from the court. The financial and moral condition of the monarchy was seriously endangered : I experienced the re-action, when I afterwards found myself compelled, for the second time, to take part in the administration, without having ambited so dan-

solicitude, so far from wishing to create the least prejudice in the disposal of the said sums, I will that they be accounted for at the rate of three per cent. interest, payable by the sinking fund, The intendants shall deliver the respective contracts of *imposition*, and shall take care to notify the same to the royal council, that note of it may be taken in the general *Contaduria*. . . . And if some communes, after an account of it shall have been rendered to me through the said council, should experience a real necessity of recovering back a part of these sums, exceeding one-half of the surplus, the sum that they have already furnished to the sinking fund shall be immediately restored to them, in proportion to the admitted urgency of the case. . . .

“ Let this be understood,” &c. &c. &c.

gerous an honour. This will presently be adverted to. In the mean time let me be allowed to point out the results of my administration, of which I have just given an account:—1st. From the epoch of my entrance into the cabinet in 1792 to the 28th March 1798, the finances of the kingdom advanced in a regular, it may even be said, in a prosperous progression, notwithstanding the unforeseen political storms; the taxes were not increased; all the means resorted to were honourable, simple, within reach of ordinary minds; no hazardous experiments were ventured upon 2dly. When I quitted the ministry, the measures I had taken to insure public credit were found so just, and so secure in their effects, that my immediate successors did not hesitate to offer to discount the vales in open office, hoping, by that means, to remove all pretence for stock-jobbing. 3dly. Power was never exercised despotically; none can reproach me with any arbitrary act; all operations, financial ones in particular, were treated of, examined, and fully discussed in the council of state; no measure was put in force without its assent. He who had the honour of presiding over the cabinet was the sincere friend of his king and country, not the man of a *camarilla*—a court favourite—still less a mayor of the palace, governing all according to his caprice.

I have produced a multitude of public and authentic documents. Envy and hatred can never deny or destroy them. Without doubt, it would be



easy for me to add other proofs as strong, perhaps even more decisive, if I, or any one of my friends, were permitted to consult the Government archives, or my own papers. There are to be found the official correspondence, the notes, the original reports, in general all the papers relating to the affairs with which I was entrusted. But by the sequestration which has, for twenty-seven years, been maintained over my whole property, all my means of defence and justification have likewise been taken from me No judgment, no legal sentence, no protective form, has ever authorized this Turkish spoliation. I possessed various registers, in which were recorded, day by day, month by month, all the acts in which I had taken part. There, I say, will be found, consigned to writing, the good already effected, the evil happily avoided, the projects of good to be done by degrees in favour of that country which is always present to my thoughts, and whose happiness and glory were the objects of my constant solicitude. . . . But the Eastern despotism which has so long borne me down, will not, I hope, be naturalized in a Christian and civilized nation: the men of the present Government will repudiate the fatal inheritance of a period of violence, calumny, and ingratitude. . . . If, in short, Spain of the present day should refuse me the justice which is my due, my memory and my misfortunes will obtain a fair and equitable satisfaction at the hands of impartial history.

CHAPTER XLI.

System and Direction of the Government under my
Ministry.

I **AGAIN** invoke the testimony of those men who lived under the reign of Charles IV., and who have also witnessed that of his successor. They can form a comparison between both. The present generation should mistrust the interested accounts of the faction which has so long exercised sway. There are still living high-minded men of advanced age, whose recollections carry them back to 1790, . . . those who, trampling under foot all laws, human and divine, outraged and despoiled their legitimate sovereign—who adjudged to themselves the prize of the labour and the blood of a heroic people, without ever concurring, by their own efforts, in the defence of the country against foreigners,—those men I formally accuse of having brought about the invasion, by their guilty intrigues,—those men, I say, are now well known. It is understood by what means they got into power. It is time to reinstate the truth in all its power, in order that every one should be treated according to his works—that facts alone should speak for us or against us. Let us both, at the bar of public opi-

nion, submit to the declarations of ocular witnesses.

Internal Policy.

Under the complex and arduous state of things brought about by the French Revolution, what was the policy of the Government, the direction of which was intrusted to my hands? All the thrones of Europe were menaced; still no precautionary measures were adopted in Spain; the existing laws, the protective forms of justice, were amply sufficient; the public peace was maintained without effort. Our old institutions, our paternal codes, the inherent loyalty of the nation, gave confidence to the Government. No recourse was had to special tribunals, or to commissions, with a view to repress unforeseen crimes. Every one of its faithful subjects watched over the preservation of the crown. Let my enemies say, if, at this stormy epoch, trials by the inquisition, arbitrary imprisonment, severe punishments, were known amongst us. . . . Afterwards, however, when the power had passed into other hands, our country was the scene of all sorts of calamities; thousands of Spaniards, accused of revolt or treason, and condemned to exile, excited mistrust, and the compassion of foreigners; the national character was compromised, dishonoured throughout all Europe; . . . but so long as I had the honour of presiding over the Government, call to your recollection, my dear countrymen, that spies and informers were neither welcomed

nor even tolerated. No family had to fear for the existence of a father, a son, a relative, or a friend. My administration has left no traces of blood ; I have deprived the country of none of its children ; the public prisons confined none but malefactors legally sentenced ; state trials were extremely rare ; they were rather menacing than formal. If any man adopted opinions that were dangerous or revolutionary, it was thought right to give him a salutary admonition, to intimate that his conduct was watched. If a man of talent inspired some apprehension, I lost no time in drawing him over to the service of the state : when suitably employed, he ceased to be dangerous ; he became useful. They whom a rigid inflexibility, or even a marked distrust, might have rendered discontented, and objects of apprehension, became attached to the Government, which laid open to them all the roads to honour and fortune. Who can accuse me of having feared the light of knowledge, or of seeking to extinguish it ? No : it was my wish that it should shine forth with brilliancy, taking care, at the same time, that it should not create a conflagration. I was a sincere votary at its shrine. In my opinion, enlightened men must be the allies, the support of power. Instead of pursuing them as enemies, how many have I not saved from persecution ! Merit, forgotten or persecuted, has always found me disposed to lend it my support ; and, in truth, I did not require to be solicited ; I myself

sought occasions—I created them—of coming to its assistance. No ancient friendship, no private relationship, attached me to Cabarus and Jovellanos. The first was for a long time exposed to the intrigues which the envious had raised against him in the preceding reign. I defended him. No one will accuse the latter of having been one of my flatterers, or servile followers. His enemies had inspired Charles IV. with strong prejudices against him. . . . I restored him, not without difficulty, to the favour of the monarch, whose heart was open to the kindest feelings. I employed every possible means¹ for the purpose, and I had the good for-

¹ The chief means I employed was to concert with our worthy common friend, Don Antonio Valdes, the Minister of Marine, and to assign to Jovellanos the duty of founding and organizing the Royal Institute of the Asturias. This establishment, one of those which date from my administration, was formed at Gijon, the native place of Jovellanos, and was devoted to the teaching of mathematics, mineralogy, and navigation. The carrying into effect the order for the establishment was entrusted to Jovellanos himself. All that he did in the business having been approved, he received thanks in the king's name, on the 7th January 1794. The school was installed under the presidency of Jovellanos; the programme was his; public rejoicings took place on the occasion. The following is the inscription in the front of the building of the Institute:—

“ Charles IV., the protector of science, the father and the object of the love of his subjects, founds and erects at Gijon an Institute for Navigation and Mineralogy, in order to favour the study of the exact and the natural sciences, to create good sailors, and to extract from the bosom of the Asturian mountains, the coal which is to be exported in national vessels.”

This school was largely endowed, notwithstanding the embarrassments of the war with France, then at its height.

Don

tune to succeed beyond my expectations. I procured his nomination to the ministry.

I might bring forward many other instances, less known, of individuals similarly circumstanced. There is one, however, of which I must not forbear the mention. As every one knows the circumstances, I do not apprehend to be contradicted in relating them.

Much has been said of the unhappy fate of Don Pablo Olavidé, prosecuted and condemned by the Holy Office in November 1778, without any attempt on the part of the King, Charles III., of his minister, Florida Blanca, or of the powerful friends of that illustrious man to save him. Olivadé was rather the victim of a party, than of his own misconduct.³ Power did not dare to shew itself; those

Don Melchior G. Jovellanos was well known for the liberality of his opinions, which had drawn upon him many powerful enemies. When his name appeared in the official Gazette, many affected to be alarmed, and murmured loudly; as for myself, I was proud of sharing in such a sin. His enemies became mine.

³ Unquestionably guilty of imprudence, Olavidé displayed too openly the principles of the School of the Encyclopedists, then in great vogue beyond the Pyrenees. His ideas were those of his friends, the Counts d'Aranda, de Campomanes, O'Reilly, Don Antonio Ricardos, the Marquis de Roda, the Count de Riela, the Duke d'Almodovar, and other learned or literary men of the period. The inquisition wished to make an example, and selected Olavidé. These are the principal charges against him: He was hostile to the monks; he corresponded with Voltaire; he possessed prohibited books and lent them to others; he had obscene pictures; he boasted of irreligion; did not observe the commandments of the church; did not respect its ministers, led the life of a pagan, and professed heretical opinions; amongst others the Copernican error. Olavidé, in his defence,
and

who ought to have aided him, had not the courage. Olavidé was publicly paraded through the capital. At the reading of his sentence he fainted.³ Some time afterwards, accident gave him the opportunity of escaping from this severe treatment; he was enabled to take refuge in France. The Count de Florida Blanca demanded his being given up by the Cabinet of Versailles, in conformity with existing treaties. Such was the power of fear over the personal convictions of this minister, notwithstanding the high favour he enjoyed with Charles III. Happily for Olivadé, the French Government refused to deliver him up, or rather it gave him the means of quitting the country and seeking safety in Switzerland. He afterwards returned into France, where he incurred great dangers during the convulsions of 1793 and 1794. No longer daring to flatter himself with the hopes of ever again seeing a

and at the very moment of execution, protested loudly that he had never denied, or doubted in his mind, any dogma of the Catholic faith.

³ He was condemned to the loss of all his employments; declared incapable of holding any; banished for ever from Madrid, from the royal residences, from Seville, from the colonies of the Sierra Morena, which he had founded, and from Lima, his native place. He was interdicted from riding in a carriage, from having horses, and from wearing clothes embroidered with gold and silver; besides being condemned eight years of penance in one of the most rigid convents; and publicly to abjure his errors; he was to abstain from reading any but pious books; was to confess every month, &c.

Be it noticed, by the way, that he had already passed upwards of two years in prison, and in solitary confinement.

Spanish sky, he had fixed his retreat on the banks of the Loire.

I interceded in his favour the moment the opportunity seemed favourable, and induced the benevolent Charles IV. to give way to milder sentiments. The unfortunate old man was allowed to appear at court with freedom: he received a suitable pension, and at his own choice, withdrew to end his days in peaceful retirement at Baeza, not far from the scene of his glorious labours, and close to the colonies which he had organized, and of which he had been, as it were, the creator.*

The history of Olivadé is not singular of its

* Don Andre Muriel, in one of his additional articles to the translation of William Coxe's work, has lost sight of the truth. He attributes to the good offices of Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, in his capacity of Minister *ad interim*, the return of Olavidé to Spain. Urquijo was charged with the management of affairs as Minister of State in 1798 (in the absence and on account of the illness of Saavedra). All had been previously agreed on and determined, with regard to the recall of Olavidé. His nephew, Lieutenant-General Don Luis de Urbina, had come to an understanding with me upon the subject. Urquijo and Saavedra himself had no power to save their common friend, Jovellanos, when in my absence, and after my definitive retirement from the Ministry; the latter was removed and supplanted by Don Joseph Antonio Cavallero, in the same month of August. Olavidé was very fortunate to have obtained his recall before this last ministerial change, and it is to me that he was in reality indebted for it. Every one knows what a gloom was spread over the palace when Cavallero was armed with power. Don Andre Muriel, in attributing to Urquijo the favourable reception given to Olavide, refers to Mr. Bourgoing, in his Picture of Spain. But Mr. Bourgoing (as may easily be seen by

kind. The tribunal of the Inquisition, rivalling the supreme power, made even the most religious men tremble. Is it not known what efforts I exerted, from the first moment of my coming into the ministry, to compel the Holy Office to adopt the spirit of the gospel, with the simple power of applying a Christian-like and moderate correction, which they ought never to have exceeded? Is it forgotten on what occasion, and through what motive, I procured the dismissal of the inquisitor-general, the Abade de la Sierra? I could not, however, wholly succeed in infusing into the mind of the pious Charles IV. my ideas, and my system of preventing every kind of re-action. . . . Is it not known what was the paramount aim of the Holy Office, that to which it uniformly aspired, but could never obtain, in spite of all the pretences afforded by the French Revolution for the accomplishment of its designs and its threats? My zeal and my vigilance were not restricted to a privileged few; all Spaniards in general were the objects of my solicitude. I will mention one more instance, that of a mere professor at Salamanca, Don Ramon de Salas, of whose cause I had procured the removal from the court of the Inquisition to the Council of Castile. Such an act of vigour no Spanish minister had ever dared to exercise since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic! And by a subsequent order

by reference to his work) does not even pronounce the name of Urquijo when he relates the adventures of Olavidé.

of the king, the Holy Office were further interdicted from proceeding to any act of arrest without previously consulting his Majesty, and obtaining his assent. Such is the use I made of the favour and confidence I possessed. Who, then, great God ! has a right to reproach me with having abused my power ? Who can say that my administration was oppressive ? So long as I preserved some influence, no persecution was allowed : the French Revolution met with no response amongst us ; the king governed by himself, without listening to any party : the common law was always respected by his ministers, the tribunals, and the councils ; no faction obtained any undue weight at court ; no one was oppressed. A policy, based upon honour and upon the wisdom of our institutions, and not upon a senseless rigour, was the sole guide of the Government at this period, which has been so unjustly blackened and disregarded. If what I aver is not the exact truth, let me be refuted by facts. I am prepared to reply to all but injurious aspersions.

I will only make another observation. The governments which at that time adopted a system of rigour, as, for example, those of Naples and Piedmont, did but increase the flame. What a terrible crisis for nations and for kings ! And without going abroad to seek for examples, what is the cause, in our own Spain, of the numerous misunderstandings and calamities which formed the

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sequel to our restoration of 1814? Had it not been for the proscriptions and the unheard-of punishments which disgrace that period of our national history; had it not been for the fatal system of retaliation, which placed upon trial one half of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, would there have arisen those endless conspiracies, those deplorable strifes, which have disfigured the reign of Ferdinand VII.?

Whoever forms his judgment with impartiality, with justice and uprightness, will compare the reign of the son with that of the father; the ministers whom Charles IV. honoured with his confidence, with those whose counsels swayed Ferdinand; in one word, the government of my time with that which has succeeded me. I have nothing to fear from such a comparison; my enemies, without intending it, have taken upon themselves my justification. Their own acts constitute my best apology.

CHAPTER XLII.

(Continuation of the preceding chapter.)

What it was possible to do at this period.—What was done.

MANY of those who pardoned me my elevation as minister, and others who were more or less sincere, reproached me for not having availed myself of the confidence of Charles IV. to give good institutions to Spain. The national spirit, said they, is imbued with recollections of the country's ancient glory, with elements that might regenerate Spain, and put her on a level with the state of France and of Europe. Thus roused from the apathy in which she had languished for two hundred years of uninterrupted despotism, the country, happy in herself, and respected by other nations, might have seen her former days revive; the reign of Charles IV. might have offered us a new era, by raising Spain to the high position to which she appeared entitled by her natural advantages, her religious principles, her patriotism, and her monarchical loyalty, so often put to the test.

Could she hesitate to amend her ancient institutions, in order that she might not remain behind the two great powers who disputed the empire of the world? Did they not owe their acquired pre-



eminence to the enlightened and improving policy of their respective governments ?

On this grave matter I owe explanations to my fellow citizens, and to the age in which I have lived.

I certainly did not come into power with the narrow views of a courtier, pre-occupied by his calculations of fortune and of vanity. I cherished hopes of glory, of that glory which was then the dream and the rock of statesmen. Few persons, it is true, knew my principles on the delicate questions then under discussion ; but there still exist Spaniards who possessed my secret.

In my mind, hereditary monarchy, subordinate to law, is the first and best of all governments, if supported by national counsels. In youth this was my belief ; it is now my rooted conviction. But I wished the monarchical form to prevail in this government, because, if not, the republican would. Democracy ought to mingle, like an heroic medicine in a generous cordial : aristocracy must be there too ; yet, I repeat, the monarchical dose should predominate, tempered by the mixture of the other two ingredients.

The ancient Cortes of Castile had no other rights save those of explanation and petition, on which the sovereign decided of his own free will. Taxes alone were freely voted by the three estates (Brazos).

I have ever looked on this organization as that most fit for Spain. Having the authorities of time

and experience in its favour, it might easily suffice us, slightly modified, or, if necessary, arranged to suit modern taste. Were it either more democratic or more aristocratic, I should perceive some dangers for liberty ; whereas, being thus kept within check, the action of sovereign power is strong, free, and regular. The judicial power had need be independent ; civil and political rights should be carefully distinguished ; the one equal for all, the others submitted to conditions, yet gradually accessible, in accordance with given pledges, and with civil liberty scrupulously defined ; add to this a conservative power. United institutions have too much neglected stability : an indispensable condition, without which every thing is precarious ; a principle which it suffices not solemnly to proclaim ; its application and practicability must be well secured, if it would repel the continual attempts of human ambition.

I would have given this salutary power to the Supreme Council of Castile, an old and venerable body, sanctified by time, and constituting our last remaining monument of ancient Spanish liberty.

In fact, what could have been substituted in its place ? I thought to maintain and establish it on the most solid foundations, on heights inaccessible to all collision. Councillors not to be removed would have been elected in a manner inflexibly determined, after a long trial, accompanied by unequivocal reputation, intelligence, and virtue.



Age, services, all should have been fixed and peremptorily regulated.

Once admitted into this Areopagus, and placed in the first rank of high state functionaries, their task would have been to watch over the conduct of our institutions, without aspiring to other honours, other rewards, or any other species of glory. To them would have devolved the task to register and promulgate the law ; to watch over its administration, and to check the deviations of other powers, whatever might be their nature. This was assuredly a high function, but it was essential to those who would preserve their rights, and make them respected.

Such was my Utopian predilection ; it was not an exclusive devotion to my king, nor a sentiment of purely disinterested patriotism, but a dream of personal glory.

Alas ! nothing was ready for such an enterprize ; and even had there existed some favourable tendency towards it in men's minds, was this the moment for putting a hand to the work ? In sight of the tempest which agitated our neighbours, the French nation, could we expose the vessel of our state to the fury of unchained waves ? Who would have dared advise it ? In days so calm, who would have attempted innovations so sudden, unsupported by popular opinion ? Who could do still worse, and, all at once, demand the sacrifices which such a reform would have exacted ?

When it is contemplated to change existing

laws, to introduce new customs and create fresh opinions, it suffices not to throw upon paper a flattering theory, and fair promises for the future; firmness and rigour would alike be powerless to give them effect.

In France, who would have recommended her vaunted liberty, could the blood and tears which it cost have been foretold?

To convert minds by gentle means is the only way to remodel a nation. We should favour information, inspire virtue by good example, and, above all, bring forward new interests in the place of old ones.

To effect this revolution in Spain, we should have had not only errors and prejudices to combat, we must have destroyed an immensity of abuses, over which it would have been impossible to triumph by persuasion, because then as now, after so many revolutions, so much experience, these abuses served to feed an innumerable multitude of persons: corroding abuses, doubtless, yet authorized by long impunity, become the patrimony of families, of powerful associations, of the high and the middle classes, and even of the class which has nothing, but exists from day to day.

How extirpate at once abuses whose roots were so deep and so extensive?

Let an attempt be made to apply the wisest and most useful institutions to a corrupted order of things, and you will find that the legislator perishes in the attempt. The most precious rights, pro-

claimed aloud, I repeat it, the most seducing promises for the future, will not give daily bread, perhaps may never give it to those accustomed to subsist on old abuses.

“ Long live absolute Monarchy! down with the Nation!” These shameful cries were heard in Spain, not long since, and I was not astonished at them. Proceeding from the wretches who uttered them, they were sincere, and expressed an idea which we may convey in these words:—

“ Long live the power by which I live, and my existence is secure! perish the power with which I should lose my means of living!”

I believe that no proprietors, no Spaniards, with ever so little fortune or independence, pronounced such blasphemies; but these were but few in numbers; the mass had nothing, not even the means of earning a scanty subsistence.

Let them have bread, and the knowledge which bestows it; the land must be prepared ere the seed be sown. This I said to myself, as I beheld so much wretchedness from the elevation on which destiny had placed me. Those who look up from below, see not the obstacles which he who holds the reins has to avoid or to surmount. I wished to do much. I did all I could; but there was so much to do. The evils of Spain's worst ages seemed let loose upon ours; besides the difficulties which the scourge of war and the critical situation of Europe entailed upon us. To lift the waggon from the slough, to make it speed over so rocky and track-

less a way, was no slight undertaking. Let me, at least, be given credit for my efforts. I will here enter into a few particulars.

Public Instruction.

I should observe that, on my attaining the ministry, I found all opening effectually stopped, walled up, against the new lights which were accused of causing all the misfortunes of France. The Count de Florida Blanca, after having, with his friends, favoured public instruction, became its enemy, when he imagined it dangerous and culpable. Reforms, long since begun with remarkable success, ceased at once. It was wished to adopt a retrograde movement.

The press was rigorously examined. The government wrapped itself in silence, and would have imposed the same on the whole kingdom. Journals exclusively devoted to literature and the arts ceased to appear in the year 1791, as well in Madrid as in the interior. Our only gazette spoke less of what was occurring in France than of affairs in China. This was not all; the terror of government grew every day more intense. Directors of patriotic societies received secret orders: "Slacken the progress of your labours," said they; "no discussions upon political economy." The universities were to confine themselves to the most indispensable branches of instruction. The heads of provinces were ordered to dissolve all newly-founded academies, and watch over the old

ones which existed in virtue of long established laws.

Spain, submissive to this course of intellectual abstinence for two years, was now but a convent of the order of St. Bruno. Philanthropic zeal and love of country alike alarmed the court.

This system of severity and mistrust appeared to me at once impolitic and cruel ; yet it required more time than I at first believed needful to dispel the dread with which Florida Blanca had impressed the mind of Charles IV.

The glowing loyalty evinced throughout the Peninsula, on the declaration of war with France, furnished me with arms against the prejudices of the king.

By degrees, without seeming to change the system adopted, I succeeded in removing the interdict. The light of mind was about to be extinguished ; I rekindled it. The associations, true schools of patriotism, where all kinds of talents were of kindred growth, received a new life. I awakened a spirit of emulation. Instead of fearing the press, I gave it all possible latitude. The door was opened to sound learning, even in those corporations which, till now, had obstinately repelled it, and which more than once had resisted government itself, when it strove to break through their prejudices.¹

¹ Don André Muriel, whom none will accuse of having depreciated the reign of Charles III., but rather of having frequently praised it at the expense of that of Charles IV., after adverting to the resistance of the first university in the kingdom

The plan of studies laid down by the council of Castile, and so long rejected by peripatetics, was at last generally received by the universities and royal colleges. Are these apocryphal assertions? Is it not true, that public studies were improved? The notices, exercises, and memorials of that epoch are now covered with dust in the recesses of our libraries. They will be found when wanted. The ministerial records, of which I had charge, would afford a thousand proofs of the general movement, and of the proper direction given to public instruction. I will cite but one example, but of so remarkable a character that it may supply the place of many others. Don Narcisso Heredia, now Marquis of Heredia, Count d'Ofalia, was one of the best professors of the University of Grenada. I still remember an argumentative prospectus of philosophic sciences, the pupils in which discussed and developed them with much credit at three public meetings. It was a summary of every known science. It may be added, that the work of M. Heredia would, even now, do honour

dom to the reform enjoined by the Council of Castile, and reciting the scripture text on which the university founded its repugnance, added these words: "Roda, and the erudite men by whom he was surrounded, saw with regret, amidst the general impulse which elsewhere moved all bodies of instructors, the strange phenomenon beyond the sphere of learned bodies devoted to instruction, exhibited by the fatal insensibility of our universities. The reign of Charles III., so beneficial under so many administrative aspects, also passed away without correcting the vices which time had introduced."—Spain, under the Kings of the House of Bourbon, vol. vi. additional chapter iv.

to the most celebrated academy of Europe. This production is the more commendable, because, whilst respecting the purity of religious doctrines, the author has not shrunk from freely broaching the highest metaphysical questions of modern schools. He was then scarcely twenty-three years of age.

Is this a singular phenomenon, an isolated case? No; all teaching communities rivalled each other in zeal. Ecclesiastical seminaries, in which, till then, the eternal Gudin had reigned paramount, where instruction was limited to a poor scholastic theology, and some lessons in lithurgy, these seminaries, I say, welcomed nearly all the new methods,—nay, more, this moral revolution penetrated the very cloisters. The names of Descartes, Newton, Locke, Condillac, Leibnitz, and other contemporary sages, rung from the Professor's chair, so long devoted to the antiquated argumentations of the middle age.

How was this progress brought about? Without the least violence. There might have been opposed the power of inertness, which had constantly checked every species of innovation. I also knew that violence could have but a fleeting effect, and produce no advantage. It was by magisterial robes, prebends, and mitres, that I worked this miracle. Persuasion and rewards were my weapons. These are the best resources of a government. Indolent minds, all votaries of the former routine, declared against me. In reforming abuses, I had cut off

their supplies ; but I was then young, and felt the enthusiasm of that happy age in which we give ourselves up to the love of good and glorious achievements. I braved this crowd of jealous and peevish men of obtuse understanding, who soon rallied round other more dangerous malcontents, powerfully backed, who succeeded at last in overthrowing me.

Yes, I favoured literature, sciences, and arts ; this can never be forgotten. It will suffice to cast a glance over the municipal archives of the kingdom ; there will be found a multitude of circulars, ordinances, and edicts, which followed each other, without interruption, and had for object to direct

- and promote primary instruction—a truly royal solicitude, which I felt it my duty to encourage. Never before nor since were schools seen to multiply as they did at that time. In the capital, in all the cities, great and small, were formed academies and associations, to superintend and forward general education. What efforts had not Government, the council, the patriotic societies to exert on the occasion ! All Spain felt the change. I will instance some of the institutions which were either created or restored through my instrumentality.

The Veterinary School.

Amongst divers branches of instruction which were neglected under the preceding reigns, I must mention the veterinary art, reduced among us to a simple traditionary practice, without principle, with-



out method. The military, above all the cavalry, fell into so deplorable a state under the administrations of Florida Blanca and Llerena, that agriculture, the management of herds and flocks, commerce, industry, wainage, all suffered by this shameful neglect. When the king vouchsafed me his confidence, I called his attention to this important subject. He graciously received all which to him appeared useful, approving the formation of a normal school, for the veterinary art in all its branches. Florida Blanca was still minister (1792), and himself applauded the idea. Well-instructed men were chosen, of acknowledged capacity. They travelled, studying the progress of science, collecting observations, books, and instruments. Others were commissioned to make a tour of Spain, in order to discover the good and evil existing in the country. They returned well stored in studies and experiments. Already authorized by a royal edict, the school was instituted October 18th 1793, at the moment of my succeeding the Count de Florida Blanca; a suitable site had been provisionally assigned to it, near the gate of the Recollets. The director of it was Don Sigismondo Malatz;² and his assistant, Don Hyppolito Estevez; the inspectors, Don Domingo Codina, counsellor of Castile, and Lieutenant-general Prince de Montfort, at the same time inspector-general of dragoons. The number

² This excellent professor had frequented the best schools of France, especially those of Chabert and Gilbert.

of pupils fixed by the king's edict was ninety-six, one-half being for the service of the army, the other half for the public service. There were at first only thirty : the complement was filled up as soon as the edifice was completed. With a view to facilitate observation and the progress of instruction, the inhabitants of Madrid were invited to confide to the care of the professors any domestic animals attacked by disease ; and this, without any further expense than that their owners were either to furnish or pay for their food. It is needless to remind any one of the success of this establishment. The special protection extended to it, the clever men it produced, the general utility of its results—all these facts are notorious. Among its other duties, it devolved upon this school to spread learning through the interior of the provinces ; to send help thither in times of need ; to combat epidemic or endemic disorders of cattle, wherever they broke out. Finally, the school was enjoined to publish its observations, the course it adopted, to render science familiar, and place it within the reach of all.

The best works printed up to 1798 are the following :—

Elements of the Veterinary Art, by Don Sigismondo Malatz, the director.

Veterinary Guide, by Don Francisco and Don Alonzo de Rus Garcia.

Treatise on the Epidemic and Contagious Diseases of all kinds of Cattle, by Don Juan Antonio Montès.

Instructions to Herdsmen and Proprietors of Stock, by the celebrated Daubenton ; translated, with Notes relative to Spain, by Don Francisco Gonzales, professor of the School.

Medicine; Surgery, and Physic, its auxiliaries.

The difficulty Government had to contend with in giving good professors to the land and sea forces, shews the neglected state in which science had been left amongst us, and the urgent necessity for its reform. Not thinking it consistent with my duty to assign this task to other hands, I took it upon myself. My first care was to revise old ordinances, to improve and augment instruction in the three colleges of surgery at Madrid, Barcelona, and Cadiz, whilst awaiting the completion of the buildings prepared to receive new students, such as were soon afterwards erected at Burgos and Saint Jago. In the capital, even that of San Carlos had not a lecture-room for practical instruction. To fill this hiatus, I established an extensive infirmary, attached to the college, well supplied with medicines, dressings of all kinds, and necessary instruments. At the same time, in order to encourage the pupils, and rekindle emulation, twelve places were endowed, in favour of the youths who showed the most zeal and capacity. These various measures having been adopted as early as the year 1793, the same solicitude extended to pharmacy, as well as to other auxiliary sciences, nearly unknown throughout Spain. After having thus provided for the

most urgent object, I founded, in 1795, the Royal College of Madrid; and, in the same year, the foundations were laid for the study of medicine and practical chemistry, the happy results of which, common to the whole kingdom, have been justly appreciated.³

Without drawing on the public purse, which, at this period, was sufficiently exhausted, I sought secure and well combined means, for meeting the expense of the great establishment, the existence of which I had so much at heart. Nothing was wanting to it. A library, the depôt of all kinds of knowledge, whether acquired at home or abroad, was established, and open to the public, like every other in the capital.

In the train of practical studies followed the study of experimental physic, chemistry, and botany, as applied to medicine. The co-founders, directors, and professors, were,

³ Besides the insufficiency of university instruction, the laws in force up to this time permitted the title of physician to be granted to any who had exercised the practice under the auspices of an approved physician, or a mere village doctor; the certificate of such a man sufficed—it was thus he had himself obtained his diploma. It will be easily seen, that the service of suffering humanity was abandoned to unskilful hands. The new regulation required punctual attendance to a course of chemistry in Madrid, for two years, in order to empower a pupil, already received into any other university, to take his final degree; instruction in practical chemistry extended itself successively to all the colleges in the kingdom, where the pupils could more commodiously follow this course, during the prescribed period of two years.

Don Joseph Yberti,⁴
Don Joseph Sever Lopez,
Don Francisco Martinez Sobral,
Don Higinio Antonio Fernandez,
Don Leonard de Galli,
Don Santiago Herner.

Their talents and admirable self-devotion give them many claims on the gratitude of their country. All that was then doing for science was turned to profit. During the whole reign of Charles IV. the progress was never relaxed.⁵ The

⁴ The celebrated Yberti was, in his time, one of the most distinguished men in Europe. His writings merited general approbation. He was a member of the Academy and Institute of Sciences at Bologna, fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine in London, of the Society of Naturalists in Paris, &c. &c. He had to defend himself in Spain against a host of envious enemies. His talents triumphed over these contemptible rivalries. The world appreciated his great learning. He was physician to the king, member of the Royal Academy of Madrid, and professor of practico-clinic medicine in the new establishment.

⁵ On the occasion of the amendment and reform in instruction, I had occasion to discover how difficult it is to extirpate abuses or prejudices derived from previous education. The right of possession or of enjoyment appeared sacred to those who lived by it. Myself, and those who wished to aid me in this great undertaking, must inevitably have yielded, so strong and general was the resistance, had I possessed none but the weapons of power. The happy results obtained by degrees, in a short space of time, were the effects of wisdom diffused with skill and perseverance. By means of a discreet dilatoriness, we gently pushed on the wheel, without forcing its speed. Those who would obtain reforms without incurring the danger of reaction, should clear the soil, and begin by weeding it. This is the only way to impart fresh vigour into a people; such resuscitation is always a kind of miracle.

Royal Decree of May 6th 1804, records all the ordinances on medico-surgical studies. It is a magnificent programme of the sundry divisions of the science which required cultivation; and all were so cultivated with brilliant success. I had taken care to procure good books, to advise and favour translations of the best foreign works, and the publication of other works of the learned men of our own country, who assisted me with much zeal in this truly national enterprize. The greater part of them had explored Europe, at the expense of the state, to bring back to us, as they did, the knowledge and improvements of Paris and of London. I shall specify a few of the translations published between 1793 and 1798:—

A complete translation of Cullen's Practical Medicine and Medical Practice.

Bell's Treatise on Ulcers, and that of d'Enaux's Malignant Pustula; translated by the indefatigable Don Barthelemy Piñera.

Introduction to Cullen's Medicine; written by M. Lafont, and translated by Don Juan Rafoo.

These works, undertaken at the beginning of Charles IV.'s reign, were completed during my ministry.

Legal Medicine and Surgery (Medical Jurisprudence), by James Plenck; translated, with annotations, by Higinio Lorente, in 1796.

Different works, translated from the English and French, by Don Santiago Garcia; amongst

others, that of Ward on Ophthalmia and Psoropthalmia, &c. &c. 1797.

Plenk's Surgical Pharmacopeia, translated, with Notes, by Don Antonio Lavedan, 1797.

Physiological, Pathological, and Therapeutic Observations, by M. Fabre ; translated by Don Juan Antonio Gonzales.

The Elements of Pharmacy, by Mr. Beaume ; translated by Don Domingo Garcia Fernandez, 1793.

The Influence of Climate on Animal and Vegetable Bodies, by Wilson ; translated from the English, by Don Salvador Ximenes Coronado, 1793.

The Elements of Natural History and Chemistry, by Fourcroy, 1793.

The Works of Spallantani, by Don Joseph Bonillo, 1794.

The Elements of Chemistry, by Chaptal ; translator, Don Higinio Antonio Lorente, 1794.

The Elements of Physio-chemical General Analysis of Waters, by the learned Bergman ; translator, Don Ignatius Soto d'Araujo, cadet in the Company of Spanish Body Guards. This work was dedicated to me.

Lessons in Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical, of the Academy at Dijon, adapted to the New Vocabulary of 1795.

Physical Dictionary, by Brisson ; with the modern discoveries, by that worthy ecclesiastic, Don Christóbal Ladera, and one of his friends, 1796.

Elementary Treatise on Chemistry, by Lavoisier; translated by Don Juan Munnariz, captain of Artillery, 1797.

System, or Complete Course of Surgery, by Bell; translated, with Notes, by Don Santiago Garcia, 1798.

Spanish Works.

Apologetic Essay on Inoculation of the Small-pox, by Dr. O. Scandon, first consulting physician of the King's Armies, of the Royal Academy of Madrid, of the Society of Seville, and of the Academy of Practical Medicine at Barcelona; 1794.

Journal of the New Discoveries in Physical Science, as applicable to the healing art, begun in the reign of Charles IV., suppressed in 1791, as were all other journals, and re-established when I became minister.

Treatise on Chronic and Acute Diseases of the Stomach, by Don Antonio Corbela.

New inquiries on Fractures of the Knee-pan, and on the evils resulting from them, by Don Antonio Galli, surgeon to the King.

Foreigners ascribed great merit to this work; it was translated into many languages. Doctor Galli did me the honour of dedicating it to me.

Treatise on Pathology, Theoretic and Practical, for the pupils of the College of Surgery, by Don Domingo Vidal.

Quinology; by Don Hyppolito Ruiz, chief botanist; 1796.

Legal Surgery; Medical Jurisprudence, general and particular, divided into four parts, Civil, Political, Military, Canonical, and Criminal ; by Don Juan Fernandez del Valle ; 1796.

It was admitted by foreigners that this was the best work of the kind then existing in Europe.

Analysis of the Chemical Laboratory at Segovia, by Don Louis Proust ; a magnificent work, published in separate pamphlets.

Artificial Method of rearing New-born Infants ; a complete treatise on the diseases of childhood ; by Don Joseph Yberti ; one of the works which spread his reputation throughout Europe. Yberti, in the same year, 1796, published his excellent Treatise on Medical Studies.

A complete course of Human Anatomy, dedicated to Charles IV., and written by his Majesty's order ; its authors, Don Francisco Bonelli, and Don Ignatio Lacava. 1797. This is a classic work which was wanting in Spain.

Elements of Pharmacy, according to the principles and operations of Modern Chemistry ; by Don Francisco Carbonell, of the Royal Societies of Madrid and Barcelona ; 1797.

Elementary course of Meteorology, written by the command of his Majesty. Its author, Don Joseph Garigo, professor at the Royal Observatory. This work was intended to apply to medicine, agriculture, &c. &c. 1794, and the following years.

Treatise, by Don Juan Naval, on the Diseases of the Eye and Ear; 1796 and 1798.

Boerhave's Medical Directory, or Abridgment; by Don Juan Baptista de Soldevila.

This list would be too long were I to quote all the useful works produced by the impetus given to science and to the healing art during the six years of my administration; the labours of every day, the correspondence, both foreign and domestic, of this kingdom; the memorials and immense collection of remarks, experiments, discoveries, enriched science, and rendered it common in Spain. Fortunately this salutary revolution, the fruit of zeal protected by government, had time to consolidate itself, gaining power for resisting the attacks of which it was the object, when my slanderers or my foes succeeded in supplanting me.^a

^a It is well known within what narrow limits medical science, above all physiology, was confined. The best foreign works were prohibited, denounced, kept back in the sea-ports and custom-houses of the kingdom. Books of magic appeared less criminal, at a certain epoch of religious fanaticism, than those of physiology were considered in Spain in our own day. I must not here omit mentioning a report made to Government on this subject, though a lingering regard bids me conceal the author's name. He closed his statement with these discouraging words:—"Let us, above all, attend to the health of the soul, which is of far greater importance than that of the body. Dust and ashes we were, and such we shall be again. Since it must be so, what signifies it whether a little sooner or a little later? Our days are numbered. No physician, not even Hippocrates himself, knew how to add a moment to those destined to us from all eternity.

The

High and exact Sciences.

Without reckoning the numerous establishments consecrated to the special studies which government, the economic societies, and many enlightened persons encouraged in every province, I will only speak of the temple erected for the purpose in the capital of the kingdom.

I am proud of having been the founder of that illustrious body, the Cosmographic Engineers of the State.

The object of this institution was the study of theoretic and practical astronomy, in all its ramifications, and with all the latitude of mathematics, applied to navigation, geography, agriculture, medicine, statistics, and the various uses of social life.

The ordinances for the creation of this military and scientific body were issued August 19th 1796.

A director, six professors, four substitutes for the latter, twelve candidates or pupils.

These were the appointments of lectureships established :

Arithmetic—Analysis and Geometry.

Method of Infinitesimals, sublime Mechanism.

Trigonometry, plain and spherical.

The health of souls, the welfare of the state require that a check should be given to impiety propagated under the cloak of medicine. In modern days, physician and materialist are synonymous terms. Let us tear away the mask from impiety, and banish this pestilence far from us."

General Optics.

Synthetic Astronomy.

Practical Astronomy.

The formation of Geographical and Geometrical Charts.

Meteorology ; its application.

Hydrostatics and Hydraulics.

Physical Astronomy.

Drawing of Plans.

To these varied instructions we must add, that the heavens were incessantly examined, night and day, by a professor, a substitute, and by two candidates; they were to be, in important cases, joined by all the members of the observatory. The clyrical directors of the veterinary school and the intendant of the botanical garden were enjoined to communicate with cosmographers, mutually exchanging their observations, and regularly publishing passing events in astronomy, medicine, and agriculture. Nothing was neglected on these points. In a short time, the Observatory of Madrid could vie with every other in Europe. Don Salvador Ximenes Coronado, his worthy colleagues, and excellent disciples, furnished both Spain and other countries with justly valued works. One of the first objects confided to this illustrious body was a complete statistical view of the kingdom, a project often conceived but never realized. The Revolution of Aranjuez, and its fatal consequences, checked this useful undertaking, which

was about to furnish us with a physical, mathematical, and civil geography of Spain.

In recalling to mind these noble creations, I do not pretend to attribute their merit to myself, exclusively, at the expense of the ministers who had preceded me in this career. What they had suggested or commenced, I religiously respected; both men and things were left undisturbed. It was a bequest, of which the country ought not to have lost the inheritance. No talent already known was deprived of its rights. I drew more than one from oblivion, and saved others from persecution. The deference I exacted for the veterans of science satisfied the young that their own future fate was secure; and what could I have done without these meritorious men? They were my feet and my hands; the only courtiers I loved to see about me. To them the geographical cabinet was indebted for its existence,—not a nominal, but a real existence,—and its high reputation. They enriched the Hydrographic Museum with marine charts, plans, and all sorts of instruments, with scarce books, and valuable manuscripts, collected with great trouble and expense.

Natural and exact sciences were cultivated simultaneously, and with equal ardour. The fine collection of the Cabinet of Natural History was increased and perfected. The Botanical Garden was daily opened to new guests. No vessel arrived in our ports that was not freighted with a

multitude of these interesting visitors, furnished with passports from the learned men whom royal munificence supported in those vast regions of the New World where Spain still held sway. It was at the Botanical Gardens that these travellers were received, attended to, and entertained, by other men of learning : Don Casimio Gomez Ortega, the pride of two reigns, Don Hyppolito Ruiz, Don Joseph Pavon, Don Isidoro Galvez, Don Joseph Severe Lopez, Don Joachim Rodriguez, Don Antonio Fernandez, Don Santiago Herner, Don Salvador Soliva, and many other naturalists, versed in the various branches of this delightful science.

All these distinguished men had their appropriate duties at the Garden of Plants. The erudite Izquierdo, the eloquent Clavijo had charge of the cabinet. What choice works were not to be found there!

Those of Ortega, the foundations of Botany ; Linnaeus' Botanical Philosophy ; his elementary course, written by royal command. The works of Ruiz and of Pavon ; the *Prodromus Floræ Peruviansis et Chiliensis* (floral productions of Peru and Chili), and the great work which followed it, and was the admiration of all Europe. At the same time the immortal Cabanilles published his Description of Plants indigenous to Spain, and Clavijo finished his beautiful Translation of Buffon and Lacépède.

It was not to these efforts that the productions of science were limited ; science in general was ardently cultivated. But I shall not here write the literary history of that epoch in which Spain ought to exult. It is enough to recall its remembrance. These specimens may suffice.

SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Agriculture, Commerce, &c.

It was on these heads that my solicitude was most earnestly called into exertion. Nothing that existed in the actual state of things could satisfy me ; all needed to be rectified and enlightened. The resuscitation of Spain depended upon the attainment of this object. I caused to be reprinted the works of our old economists, and those of foreign statesmen. I urged the completion of such as were commenced. The most part of them were published at the charge and under the auspices of government. I will enumerate some of them.

Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith. Translated by Don Joseph Alonzo, with illustrations, notes, and an appendix relative to Spain.

The Political and Economical Discourses of David Hume.

Supplement to the Appendix of popular Education, with two Discourses by Christóbal de la Mata, recently discovered.

The immense work of Don Eugenio Larruga

entitled, **Political and Economical Memoirs on the Natural Productions, Commerce, Manufactures, and Mines of Spain**, continued under my ministry, and amply patronized.

Observations on the Natural History, Geography, Agriculture, Population, and Produce of the Kingdom of Valentia, by Don Antonio Joseph Cabanilles. This learned man was one of those who travelled through Spain, at the expense of government, to collect materials for the natural history, statistics, and geography of the Peninsula.

History of the Political Economy of Arragon, by Don Ignatio de Aso.

Reflections, Political and Economical, by Don Miguel Generès, on the Population, Agriculture, and Manufactures of the kingdom of Arragon.

Political and Economical Thoughts in Favour of Agriculture and other Branches of Industry in Spain, by Don Miguel Perez Quintero.

Essay on the Corn Laws. Translated, by order of the king, from the original French, and applied to Spain by Don Thomas Anzano.

Practical Lessons on Agriculture; a work commenced in 1792, continued, augmented by Appendices, and happily terminated.

Rosier's Dictionary of Agriculture; translated and published under the auspices of Government, by Don Juan Alvarez Guerra, now Minister of the Interior (1835); a work which all the munici-

palities of the kingdom were invited to bespeak, with orders to hold it at the disposal of every inhabitant who might wish to consult it.

General History of the Commercial Interests of all Nations; translated by Don Domingo Marcoleta.

The Natural and Chemical Elements of Agriculture; by the Count de Gillemberg; translated from the English by Don Casimero Gomez Ortega.

On the Manufacture of Salts and Potash; by Don Juan Manuel Munarriz; printed by the king's order, and distributed in all economical societies and consulates of the kingdom. (Commercial Tribunals.)

Elements of the Art of Dyeing; by Berthollet; translated by order of the king, and enlarged by Don Domingo Garcia Fernandez. A great number of specimens of this work, and of others equally important, were sent to the economic societies.

Works and Memoirs of the Patriotic Societies, which vied with each other in publishing them in all the provinces.⁷

⁷ These are the names of the societies existing towards the close of 1798:—Almunecar, Astorga, Avila, Alaejos, Aguilar de la Fontera, Alcala de los Gazules, Baneza, Baeza, Benevente, Bujalance, Chinchou, Cuidad-Rodrigo, Cuenca; Constantina, Cabra, Cantabrica, Granada, Gran Canaria, Gomera, Herrera de Rio Pisuerga, Iaca, Jaen, Leon, Lucena, Lugo, Madrid, Murcia, Mallorquina, Medina Sidonia, Medina de Rio Seco, Medina del Campo, Malaga, Motril, Oveida, Osuña, Puerto Real, Requena, Rioja

These publications were so useful, and at the same time so numerous, that, in order to diffuse and bring them within the reach of all classes, it became necessary to make extracts, and publish them periodically, every fortnight, leaving persons at liberty either to agree for the purchase of the whole collection, or to buy the separate parts.

The Weekly Journal of Agriculture and Arts, especially devoted to the instruction of the working classes, owed its creation to me.* Many men

Rioja Castellana, Sevilla, Sigüenza, Soria, Segovia, San Lucar, Santiago, Toledo, Tudela, Tarrega, Tenerife, Talavera, Trujillo, Tordesillas, Tarazona de la Mancha, Tarragona, Vascougada, Valencia, Vera, Valladolid, Velez Malaga, Xerez de la Fontera, Zaragoza, Zamora.

* The following is a passage from the prospectus of this literary undertaking:—

“It needs no great study to discover the utility of these extracts; the good principles circulated through the kingdom by the Patriotic Societies throw sufficient light on the subject. The work will neither be so voluminous nor so expensive as are collections in general, which are sometimes of slow progress. Every one will be able to afford paying for the part he wants, and need buy no other than that required in his calling or profession. The husbandman, the merchant, the artisan, will find in these pamphlets abundant information and practical rules. Domestic prosperity constitutes the wealth of a state. This journal furnishes complete instruction in all branches of political economy. The farmer will there find useful advice and positive information. He will therein learn the use of implements, good methods, mechanical operations, such as the various kinds of improvement demand, the distinguishing qualities of soils and plants, the way to rear and keep cattle without injury to agriculture, by correcting false systems, errors introduced by ignorance, and old prejudices. Thus every

of learning contributed to it the tributes of their peculiar talents. The good effects of this publication were generally appreciated. The curates of all the parishes subscribed for it; the bishops set the example. It still exists, in Paris, among the living ruins of the country, which have been scattered over the four quarters of the globe. The director of this estimable journal was Don Juan Melon, a statesman and a literary character, whose well-earned fame had long passed beyond the frontiers of Spain.'

every one may contribute his share towards the progress of commerce, arts, trade, and general industry. By degrees will disappear that idleness which is the mother of every vice. Even women will devote themselves to such toils as befit their sex. The unfortunate, actually reduced to beggary, disgraceful blots upon our social state, will become useful citizens; our journal will render the science of economy familiar, by adapting it to all capacities.

* In the works of Melendez will be found an epistle, which he then addressed to me on the subject of the creation of this journal. He applauded my efforts in favour of the improvement of arts and agriculture. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting some of his verses. The name of Melendez will interest the reader.

It was on the occasion of the Weekly Journal being established that he addressed me the epistle which forms part of his works, and of which the following are extracts:

"What do I see? The illustrious Charles, from his exalted throne, and you too, my Lord, casting a look of interest on the humble plough? You deign to feel solicitude for the honest husbandman! You wish that a purer light may shine on his lowly hearth, from whence you would banish sloth, which would otherwise devour the fruits raised by the sweat of his brow;—sloth which leads so many wretches from misfortune to crime.

"At

There were a great number of other periodical works published in the capital, and in the pro-

"At your powerful voice error is dispelled, and light dawns upon us; maternal Spain raises her venerable forehead, proud of being encircled by ears of golden corn; again shall she triumph amongst nations.

"Ah! my Lord, enjoy this glorious perspective! behold a countless people, whose cares and toils now produce rich harvests. Their tutelary deity secures the welfare of all. Behold them! How they celebrate the blessings which they owe to your care. They raise their suppliant hands towards Heaven, invoking benedictions on their Monarch and on you."

After a touching picture of a husbandman's fatigues, and of the state of servitude in which he still sighed, Melendes continues in these terms:—

"Break his chains, my Lord; he will then rush joyously to his labour, and bless the hand of his deliverer. Enlighten him, encourage his efforts; seeds hitherto unknown; more perfect implements of husbandry will double his produce; plenty will fill his stores, and science herself will promote and recompense the toils which nourish the noble sons of our country.

"No more henceforth shall be disdained; no longer the victim of gross ignorance, man's primitive profession, which kings and consuls have not blushed to exercise; that holy calling of which the Creator of the universe, with his own divine lips, dictated to man the earliest lessons, will no longer be disdained, no longer be the victim of gross ignorance."

Here followed a picture of the prosperity to which agriculture might raise itself. The poet's imagination soars to the sublime idea of the religious morality which must be the consequence of instruction shed among that interesting class, the cultivators of the soil.

"The labourer, already good by natural instinct, becomes better from conviction. Vice has less power over him. His religion is enlightened. Hitherto bent towards earth, like the yoked ox, henceforth he shall look to Heaven, whose splendours have not as yet affected him; he will admire the active power of his Creator, which shines at once in the perpetual miracle of
repre-

vinces, all of which concurred in the like objects: that is to say, in spreading intelligence, combatting abuses, re-kindling and encouraging

reproduction by seed, and in the brilliant colours of flowers, the gentle breath of zephyr, the fury of the north wind, the delicious freshness of autumn, the roaring of the storm, the fertilizing power of snow. In contemplating the immensity of divine goodness, man is penetrated with gratitude; religious sentiments pour into his heart an ineffable joy."

I believe I in no way belied Melendez' predictions. Never in the preceding century, nor at any anterior epoch, was agriculture so encouraged as during the reign of Charles IV. I shared with my excellent King the blessings of the people. The treacherous artifice of my enemies alone could have corrupted the regard of which I so often received assurances. But I am thoroughly persuaded that Spain is now undeceived, and no longer unjust towards me. Melendez thus continues:

"What prayers, what well-earned praises does not the future promise to you! Let your glance o'erskip an interval of time, and behold the Spaniards rich, virtuous, and free; no longer slaves to ignorance and misery. Behold a vigorous generation, born of fruitful times! My Lord, behold your work! This new race owes to you its existence. Your name is on every lip. The old who hear it uttered shed tears of joy. Revel already in this blest hereafter. You, to whom the present has cost such watchful cares, open your heart to the delight of having done so much good."

Finally, having transposed into beautiful poetry the conversations we had often enjoyed together, on the means of securing our country's emancipation, of favouring its culture by a better distribution of the soil, above all by good laws, without which not all the instruction lavished on that class, our labouring poor, can ameliorate their condition, the great poet thus concludes:

"My Lord, raise the husbandman's just complaint, his humble prayer to the ear of the good King. Destroy the throne of error. The friend, the father, the prop of agriculture, may a fair sheaf of golden corn in blade crown the crest of your arms."

newly-revived education. The following were those most in repute:—the Literary Memorial; the Annals of Literature, Arts, and Sciences; the Spirit of the best European Journals; the Salamanca Weekly Journal of Erudition (a work designed after the plan of the English Spectator); the Literary Courier of Murcia; the Grenada Weekly Gazette of Learning and Economy; the Literary Pastimes of Alcala de Hena-rez, &c. &c.

The royal censors of the press were ordered gradually to slacken the reins, and to allow great latitude to literature; always providing, that religion and the principles of monarchy were respected. The same indulgence was extended to foreign books and journals, so that they did not openly preach atheism or anarchy, and were calculated to promote the progress of science or of art. These excited amongst us a salutary emulation, and placed us on a level with the most civilized of other countries; I will even say more. When the books and papers which were justly prohibited contained some useful articles, these were judiciously extracted, and appeared in the works whose circulation was sanctioned by the government. This good faith, this toleration from those in power, was notorious at that epoch: certainly, many Spaniards must still remember it, and may compare it with the rude tyranny exercised in latter days.

POPULAR INSTRUCTION.

Arts and Trades.

Not confining myself to rendering instruction easily accessible to all ranks, I warmly encouraged it. Schools were specially devoted to it. Science was applied to industry. The bequests of anterior reigns had been religiously preserved; but they were increased by my care. I will speak but of the principal improvements.—I must first transcribe an extract from the Gazette of February 28th 1794, the most stormy period of our contest with France:—

“ Our lord the King, in spite of the embarrassments of the existing war, wishes to neglect nothing which can contribute to the glory and happiness of his faithful subjects. His majesty is aware that natural sciences can make no progress unless the arts lend them a co-relative support, by becoming auxiliaries to them. Aware, too, that it were in vain to expect this progress in science, while the country, tributary to foreign powers, was by that connexion obliged to borrow from strangers all the instruments and requisite machinery for various scientific operations, he has accordingly determined to establish, near the Royal Observatory, a manufactory for astronomical and surgical instruments, and a professorship for the public instruction of the principles of both sciences,—

which ought to be known by those who devote themselves to this ingenious profession.

“ The king, anxious to give his subjects this new proof of his gracious consideration, had sent Don Carlos Rodriguez and Don Amaro Fernandez to England, at the charge of the state, there to perfect the talents of which they have already given unequivocal proofs. These two able mechanicians were to qualify themselves to initiate the youth of this country into all the processes now used by the manufactories of London. Conformably with the King’s intentions, and in order that they may produce the good results which his Majesty relied on, his excellency the Duke de l’Alcudia, persuaded that the lessons of the best masters would be fruitless if their pupils were not prepared for them before-hand, by a competent study of the principles of geometry, astronomy, physics, and mechanics, without which, they would never be more than artists, if not thoroughly useless, at best of mere mediocrity, without genius, without invention, incapable of understanding or appreciating the instruments which themselves had not made ; has, therefore, resolved that the professorship devoted to the inculcation of these principles, shall be opened immediately, in order that the young pupils destined to construct surgical and mathematical instruments, may acquire a due share of preparatory information : and, in order to facilitate their

means of so doing, there is published at the royal press, by the order of his Majesty, the first volume of the Lessons of Don Joseph Radon, the professor to be appointed, in consideration of the zeal and talent of which he has already given so many proofs. In conformity with this notice, the youths who wish to apply themselves to the art of instrument making, shall have to wait upon Don Salvador Ximenès Coronado, at the palace of the Buen Retiro; they will there learn the day, hour, and place fixed upon for opening the course of lectures, with no other conditions than those of knowing how to write and read, and of having at least completed their thirteenth year. There will also be given, at separate hours, elementary lessons in astronomy, adapted to the use of other persons, especially such as wish to be well grounded in geography;¹⁰ but those desirous of following the astronomical course, must have previously studied trigonometry, mechanics, &c."

This establishment was not a mere project; it

¹⁰ At this period were reprinted, or published for the first time, many ancient and modern works; among others, the Universal Geographical Dictionary, considerably augmented; the new and very elaborate work entitled, a New Method of Teaching General Geography, by Principles; comprehending the Sublime or Astronomic Branch. The Spanish Atlas, by Don Bernardo Espinalt; Geographical Principles, applied to the use of the Chart, by my particular friend Don Thomas Lopez; Modern Historical Geography; and a multitude of Manuals, or abridgments, for the use of colleges, schools, &c. &c.

was fully carried into effect in the following year, when the Royal Observatory and the Society of Cosmographic Engineers were completely organized.

At the same period was instituted at Madrid, (calle de St. Marco) a royal school for turning, and for the manufacture of instruments, under the direction of that excellent mechanician, Don George Imre. Several of its pupils were supported by the Royal bounty. It was a free school, open to the public. Every one witnessed its progress. Its works in tortoise-shell, ivory and choice woods, in steel, bronze, cast-iron, and all sorts of metal, or of composition, were eagerly purchased. Students from this school spread themselves through the provinces.

Subsequent to this institution, another was founded, equally protected by government (calle larga de St. Bernardo, from 1794 to 1795), for all sorts of machinery, clock-work, brass wire, &c., under the direction of Don Miguel Sastre.

In 1797, was also established (calle de Jesus Maria) a school for the manufacture of cylinders, like those of England, under the direction of Don Roberto Dale, and the special protection of the government.

Who has not seen and admired the royal and sumptuous manufactory for coloured papers by Don Pedro Giraud de Vilette (near the convent of the Canonesses of Santiago)? Many young Spa-

niards profited by the lessons of that skilful manufacturer.

The favourable reception given to Don Henrique Simon, formerly engraver to the King of France, is well known. This artist had attained the power of engraving on hard stone with as much facility as on metal. Government welcomed him, on the only condition that he should receive pupils : he had many, most of them supported by the state.

The school for clock-work, established like the rest in 1798, was alike esteemed by foreigners and natives. The King spontaneously founded it, at his own expense : (calle del Barquillo). He confided the superintendence of it to the two brothers (Don Felipe and Don Pedro Charost). These talented masters published, by his Majesty's command, an elementary treatise on plain clock-work ; two years before, and at the private cost of that king whose services to Spain it is attempted to consign to oblivion, Don Manual de Cirella, clock-maker of the palace, published his great work on Universal Clock-making. Besides explaining general methods, the author disclosed his secret, of applying to pendulums and watches the indications of astronomy, a new instrument for piercing the cylinder, on a diapason of twenty notes; time-pieces, &c., &c.

Let us not forget the fine establishment for manufacturing furniture, for veneering, marble

work, &c., placed under the protection of Government, and intended for the instruction of the people, by Don Louis Hennequin (real calle de Almudina). Thence were sent forth, even to foreign lands, a quantity of flowers, vases, white stones, corners, pier glasses, chimney ornaments, bas-reliefs, tables, chandeliers, urns, cameos, and other curious objects, which were universally sought and admired. The rich manufactory of goldsmiths' work, by the celebrated Martinez, was well known. I constantly befriended it, and so made it flourish, that it received numerous commands from various parts of Europe, and from the New World. With the good old rules of his art, to the elegance of the Arabs, and the ingenious capriciousness of the Americans, Martinez knew how to combine the grace and correctness of modern artists, and by this happy admixture, he may be said to have formed a new taste, which was peculiarly his own."

His scholars scattered themselves through the provinces, where they promulgated the taste and manner of their master.

¹¹ The plate which was carried away from my dwelling was the work of Martinez; on it was ably represented the most beautiful productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms with which Spain and America have furnished our tables. In the pillage of my house, this rich plate was at first spared, but it was finally taken to the palace of his Majesty, under the care and by the order of the commissioners who were charged with superintending the sequestration of my property.

Many other branches of industry were either created or revived by the care of Charles IV. and his government, in spite of all the embarrassments and expenses in which they were involved by the war, first with France, and afterwards with England.

Every year the Royal Museum of the Buen Retiro was enriched by a crowd of mechanical models. This was not a vain ostentation, nor an useless luxury: instruction in theories, and their application to practice, went along with it. Those who wished to possess any of these machines for their own private use, found instructions, facilities, and economical means for procuring them. The solicitude of Government extended itself to those who could not come and visit the museum at the capital. Descriptive catalogues were made of the most useful instruments, and those least known in the interior of the kingdom. Don Juan Lopez de Penalver, with other meritorious men, who had, like himself, explored the best establishments in Europe, travelling at the expense of the state, were commissioned to draw up these catalogues, which were distributed and delivered in parts, pending the general publication of the whole collection in its proper order.

In fact, wherever the interest of a branch of industry, either just sprung up or fallen into decay, stood in need of assistance, the adminis-

tration hastened to despatch models, in order to revive emulation and curiosity.

It is known, or at least it ought to be known, what were my efforts, to cause the kingdom of Valencia to adopt the methods of Vaucanson, relative to the different preparations of silks. A practical school, established at Venaresa, was directed by the celebrated Lapayese, whose luminous work, as well as the book of Doctor Ortella, powerfully contributed to the progress of our looms. This object was earnestly recommended to all the economical societies. Lapayese received commission to promulgate information, and amply supply facilities and means of execution to all those who applied to him. Copies of works were given at a moderate price, regulated by their actual cost, so that every one who chose might purchase them; but distributed gratuitously among the labouring poor. Thus intelligence was diffused on all sides, and competition became general. It was no fault of the Government that the cultivation of silk, that chief wealth of southern lands, should fail to revive and attain perfection. The cloths of Guadalaxara and of Brihuega, which daily improved, rivalled those of France for durability and texture. There were sold at Madrid, after the restoration of peace, more than ten thousand pieces in each month. Our wools could not meet the demands from abroad. The manufacturers of

Valencia and Catalonia rivalled the royal ones. Those of Segovia did not remain behind-hand.¹²

At Cadiz and elsewhere, the manufacture of sailcloths employed thousands of hands, and from that time none were used save the hems of our own country.¹³

The threads and linens of Galicia made great improvements; greater proficiency was acquired

¹² Far from diminishing, after the peace, the prosperity of these various establishments rather increased. In 1795 and 1796 Government was obliged to come to the assistance of the new manufacturers, and their new methods, which suffered great opposition from the old manufacturers, and from the rooted ignorance of local authorities. Don Joseph Perez Inigo, of San Domingo de la Cazada, had recourse to the protection of Government to keep up his cloth manufactory, so remarkable for the fine quality of its goods, and the moderation of their prices; an additional motive for the persecution directed against him. The King granted him the title of royal manufacturer, and the honour of placing his Majesty's arms over the doors of his dwelling and his warehouse.

¹³ The manufacture of sails, cables, cordage, &c. became altogether a national one. Hemp was eagerly cultivated wherever the soil permitted, especially in Navarre and Arragon; but above all in the kingdom of Granada, where I myself set the example of its cultivation on a large scale. I devoted to it more than a thousand acres of newly-cleared land of my estate of Soto de Roma, and another great track on my property at Guadalcazar. I made considerable advances to the planters. The Government, on its part, was also very liberal towards the cultivators of this rich valley. In a short time a stream of gold and silver circulated in it, for the disposal of the produce were certain; prices were continuing to rise; the state offered a prize of encouragement, instead of exerting a right of monopoly; so that our arsenals had shortly no need of applying to other countries for this indispensable article.

in the art of weaving.¹⁴ Cotton was raised in our own country, and supplied the national manufactures.¹⁵ The breed of silkworms, which was almost failing in Spain, so much had it been neglected or corrupted by erroneous systems, was now highly protected. Mulberry plants of all kinds multiplied amongst us. Paper makers received an impulse proportioned to the prodigious activity of the press; that of Catalonia no longer shrunk from comparison with foreign states. In short, beams of light darted from the central focus. Distinguished scholars from Madrid were sent into the interior, where they introduced proper methods of proceeding.

The best part of these advantages is to be ascribed to the economic societies; but Govern-

¹⁴ In order to accelerate its progress, Don Francisco Coural Jove published his Physico-economic Memoir on the improvement of weaving the thread of Galicia, and other provinces of the kingdom, by every possible means; that is to say, by the choice of a suitable soil, by varieties of grain, by rules of cultivation, &c.

¹⁵ It is well known that in the kingdom of Granada, and in other parts of the Peninsula, on the banks of the Mediterranean, an advantageous impetus was given to the culture of cotton, of which formerly there had scarcely been seen above a plant or two in the gardens of amateurs. As a new production, recently created, it was admitted into the privileged class (*novales*), that is to say, not subject, for a certain time, to the tythe tax, nor to that of civil contributions. The industrious Catalonians established themselves at Motril, and at other points of the coast of Granada, with a view to cultivate this article; the results were satisfactory, and proved adequate to supply the manufactories of their provinces.

ment excited their patriotism, and gave them its entire confidence. They were meetings of enlightened citizens taken from all ranks, without any distinction. Animated by an excellent spirit, they aided the success of useful innovations, and extended their benefits to all places. Schools of commerce, of agriculture, of trades, and of sciences, which are auxiliary to all arts, were seen to increase in all directions. The societies each year distributed prizes of encouragement, and public praises. I must not here omit to pay a just tribute of encomium to those noble ladies who, whether in Madrid or in the provinces, associated themselves to these patriotic unions. What did they not effect for the education of the poor of their own sex ! With what zeal, what delicate and minute attention did these worthy matrons watch over the proper management of hospitals and workhouses ! What gentle persuasion did they exert to encourage virtue, and a proper employment of time ! They set the example ; participating in the labour of their pupils, evincing their own ambition to win the prizes of encouragement, and then offering them to the most deserving of those they called their school-mates. Oh, what a nation might ours become, if it were but properly governed !

CHAPTER XLIII.

School for the Deaf and Dumb.—Philanthropic and Christian Measures in favour of Foundlings.

PRIMARY instruction was encouraged throughout the kingdom; nothing was neglected to place it within the reach of the indigent classes; but the poor deaf and dumb had hitherto been forgotten. The ideas which have been revived in latter times respecting the mode of restoring to society these beings so disgraced by Nature, belonged originally to our country, though other nations subsequently profited by them: The sympathetic charity of the Spaniards, naturally so quick and so generous, had remained behind-hand. Thinly scattered through the crowd of unfortunates who had claims on public compassion, the deaf and dumb, unperceived, one may say, had painfully journeyed through life, without having received the benefit of religion, deprived of the advantages of social order, melancholy living machines, in many respects inferior to the brutes themselves.

Government owes especial protection to those classes which are devoid of support; the civilized community, that true association for mutual insurance, would be failing in its duty if a single

individual could justly reproach it with lukewarmness. “*Res Sacra Miser!*” such is the cry of humanity, to which no one ought to be deaf, above all, none of those entrusted with the power of doing good.

To call the attention of King Charles IV. to objects of this nature was the best way of courting his good opinion. In one of our conversations I spoke to him, as was my wonted custom, on what the well-being of his subjects stood in need of, and on the means which might be used for putting a stop to existing sufferings, or, at least, for softening them. I spoke of the unfortunate deaf and dumb. His Majesty took me at my word on the very day (July or August 1794). Charles IV. was well pleased at having witnessed the progress of the young pupils in the public school of St. Ildefonso. One was created on the next day for those to whom Nature had denied the faculties of speech and of hearing. This royal institution was established in the college of Lavapiès, under the direction of father Navarrete, of Santa Barbara (a pious foundation). This ecclesiastic united with much intellect and sound doctrines, all the virtues adapted to his station. The new establishment was the object of my special solicitude—I may say of my liberality. The care and talents of its professors left me nothing to desire. The excellent work of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervás de Panduco, entitled, “*The Spanish School for*

the Deaf and Dumb," or the art of teaching them to write and read the Spanish language, is well known. Thanks to this work, which instilled true principles and gave means for the frequent application of theory to practice, the school prospered, not only at Madrid, but even in the interior of the kingdom. Among the students who came to the capital to obtain their diplomas in sundry departments of instruction, many also wished to possess the method of teaching the deaf and dumb. A second school was soon opened in Barcelona, and intrusted to the care of that worthy ecclesiastic Don Juan Alberto. The learned Hervás, of whom I have already made mention, and who can never be named without praise, insisted upon contributing towards the success of this institution.

There was another family of unfortunates still more to be pitied than the deaf and dumb, having no relatives whose kindness they could claim, born in sorrow, never greeted by the smiles of a mother; these hapless ones, I say, were not only objects of charity, in my eyes, but I looked upon it as the duty of Government to come to their aid.

Two original sins weighed them down. The waters of baptism might wash away the first, but the second must pursue them through life.

Having neither father nor mother, it behoved the state to stand them instead of both, and not to punish them for the weakness or the insensibility of those who had given them life. In the reign of

Charles III. some legal and charitable measures had been adopted in behalf of these foundlings. But the rigour of certain moralists, and the insufficiency of the means at first adopted, paralyzed the good intentions of Government. Thousands of these hapless wretches perished; if a few survived, it was but to drag on an ignominious existence, worse even than premature death. The two royal decrees of Charles IV. (January 20th 1794, and December 11th 1796) checked this evil. The life, health, and honour of these orphans was protected in an effectual manner; a wisely-proportioned education enabled them to provide for themselves and become useful to society. No longer reproached with the misery of their birth, the law declared them citizens, with the same civil rights which others enjoyed, without the least difference between them; and this law, so well conceived, so well cemented, has ever since remained in full vigour.¹

¹ This is a passage from the enactment of the royal decree, 20th January 1794: "Notwithstanding the embarrassments and expenses of the present war, I have taken, and will not cease to take the most effectual measures in behalf of the foundlings. I shall provide for their subsistence, and settle them in an honest, a suitable career. They are the adopted children of christian charity; members of the social body; hitherto too much neglected, especially in some provinces, where they are, even to this day, ignominiously denominated bastards, doubtful offspring, sons of adultery. Nothing is more unjust than to declare them illegitimate, because their parents, fearing their inability to rear them, usually abandon them in order to preserve their lives.
Con-

All prejudices disappeared before the firm will of Government. The first classes of society willingly lent themselves to this object. Many of these unfortunates found in the higher classes, and subsequently in the middle classes, adopted parents, generous protectors, who took upon themselves their subsistence.² Those who had not this good fortune received nevertheless a carefully

Consequently, I ordain, by these presents, which will be inserted in the Collection of the Laws of Spain and the Indies, that all foundlings of both sexes now existing, or that may hereafter be born, already received into the hospitals of Madrid, or other houses of charity, and those who are now or may hereafter be admitted into other hospitals or houses of charity throughout the kingdom, be respected and held as legitimate children, enjoying all the civil rights, generally, and without restriction, notwithstanding any other royal disposition to the contrary. I declare that in no respect shall the fact of being a foundling be considered disgraceful, or serve as an obstacle to the full enjoyment of common rights. Foundlings at present existing and to come, are, and shall remain, though their real fathers are not legally known, in the general class of citizens (*hombrés buenos de Estadollano general*), with the same prerogatives, subjected to the same rules and obligations as are other honest citizens of the common class. And I decree that, on attaining the age required for other children, they shall be received into the schools for the poor, the consistories, houses of charity, mercy, &c. &c.; where they shall share the endowments, bequests, consignments, which these establishments have, or may acquire a right to dispose of, towards the apportionment of orphans, of either sex, according to the will of their founders," &c. &c.

² The Ladies' Society was well known, and no doubt is so still. It took under its immediate protection the house for deserted orphans or foundlings. This good work, recommended by religion and humanity, will be henceforth an hereditary duty for Spanish ladies.



arranged education from the munificence of royalty, until they were able to provide for themselves.

To the male children I wished to give a career in which, while furthering their own fortunes, they might be of service to their country. I sought chiefly to have them instructed in the arts and trades connected with the army and navy. Being thus exercised, and naturally disposed, they afforded me, without having to contend against either inclination or habit, a ready means of recruiting our navy with robust men, accustomed to discipline, free from all those family ties which might have restrained them, or instilled a distaste for the service.

To complete these measures by establishing them on a steadfast and enlightened basis, by prudent regulations and solid instruction, I had but to make an appeal to the men of merit with whom I had always endeavoured to surround myself.

Don Joseph Yberti produced, in Spanish, a work entitled, *An artificial Method of rearing New-born Infants, and giving them a proper Physical Education*. He also published his *Treatise on the Diseases of Children*.^a

^a This work bore away the first prize in Paris, 1789. The great number of children who had perished in France, while thus abandoned by their parents, excited the interest of the good Louis XVI. and that of the Academy of Medicine. Much attention was bestowed upon the means of preserving the lives of these innocents. Yberti's work was adopted in all the hospitals, and served to perfect the system of early education.

Don Santiago Garcia, of the academies of Madrid and of the Basque provinces, wrote his generally esteemed instructions on the manner of saving the lives of foundlings.

Don Jayme Bonelles and others, whose names have escaped me, also published some very good books on the same subject.

These useful inclinations in behalf of the country's adopted children, the wise and philanthropic measures taken with a sort of lavish kindness for those unfortunate mothers who blushed at becoming so, whose honour I strove to save, and whom I wished to spare from a crime so unnatural, drew on me the censure of certain pious men—men whose lives were holy, and whose zeal was very orthodox, I will not doubt, but who involved me in great difficulties. "This predilection," said they, "this favour shown (they never supposed that I considered it a point of duty), this benevolence towards foundlings, and towards those who give them life, is a premium of encouragement to libertinism and the corruption of morals."

The intelligence which began to pervade all around us, and the constancy of Government, triumphed over these obstacles. I ought to add, that my efforts were powerfully seconded by my friend Don Pedro Joachim de Murcia, member of the council of Castile. The partiality of friendship does not cloud my judgment. All Spaniards have acknowledged the virtues of this worthy

ecclesiastic, a perfect model for ministers of the Gospel! Many bishops also lent me their support; and ultimately, thank God! all was settled and consolidated at the same epoch.

We did not limit our solicitude to the class of foundlings. All the unfortunate whose childhood or whose youth needed assistance, were comprehended in the general measure. All who were deserted, whether orphans, or left by their parents to the charity of the public, were received, and made to partake of the same education as that given the foundlings. Let me be permitted here to transcribe the verses addressed to me by the immortal Melendez, in his Tenth Epistle.³

³ “ . . . No, prince! thou hast not been deaf to the cries of the unfortunate who implored thee. The voices of the brilliant circle who surround thee have not prevented the sighs of the poor from reaching thine ear. They were sure of touching the heart of one always ready to extend a helping hand, or wipe away the tears of suffering humanity. It is thou who art banishing a disgusting, an odious beggary. Thou who restorest existence to the hapless beings whose livid brows already bear the stamp of death. Thou savest them from the vice and sloth which blighted their best years. Thou givest them a new active, honest life; their toils will be blessed by Heaven, and their labours will prove useful to their native land.

“ . . . No more unjust contempt; no more heart-rending complaints! Industry, and all the good it produces, have displaced that fatal indolence, which is the mother of all vices. The bounteous sweat that bathes their brows, that just salary, the price of their ingenious labours, shall be to them an abundant source of happiness and health. Thou hast raised them to be men and citizens. Prince, enjoy their tears of gratitude; accept their innocent blessings, and permit me to add to them the

simple expression of the attachment which I have vowed thee ; my honest praise, free from all impure admixture of selfish interest, from all taint of flattery."

Further on, Melendez represents those measures of benevolence as a noble compensation for the cares which beset the man in power. He says, that, amidst all these anxieties, he who does good may still enjoy a sweet and undisturbed repose.

" . . . Prince, look now on the innocent creatures whose plaintive cry so lately broke our hearts, as they roved in tatters, without asylum, without bread. What a disgrace to humanity ! what a shame, likewise, for the country which could not but number them amongst her children. Lifted from that abyss of ignominy, revived by thy care, behold them, full of health and contentment, rushing to the mart for honest toil, opened to them in the temple of humanity. Their assiduous labours enrich and adorn the land, which, but for thee, would offer them a grave, yawning to receive their wretched remains.

" . . . How must they bless the happy day, when, affected by their deep distress, thou dispensedst amongst them all these comforts, in exchange for so many woes. Henceforth the country shall smilingly receive them into her bosom. It is thou who hast given her the children she has adopted. She will enroll in her annals the memory of thy zeal and generosity. May I soon witness the fulfilment of all which public report holds out ; all that philosophy expects of thee !" *

* See the article on Melendez, in the Biographical Index.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Liberal Arts and Literature.—Poets and Orators of the Reign of Charles IV.—Liberty of the Press.—Abundance of Professors and of good Books.

No Government can be strong which does not rest upon public opinion; but, if the popular mind be not actuated by generous inspirations, if it be not habitually moved towards a better order of things, that benumbed mind will sleep in obscurity. It must be roused, and made sensible of the blessings which are only to be acquired at the cost of some sacrifices.

Ambitious of restoring to my country its full splendour, I wished that, amidst the tumult of arms, the gentle voices of the Muses should not be stifled. My intention was well matured. I was not content with showy foliage and fair blossoms, I aspired to cull the fruits; to raise intellect, to encourage the flights of talent, to bring about a moral revolution; such were my views, when I thought of rekindling the love of arts and literature.

Others, perhaps, may have sought so to attune them, that they might divert and enervate the people, thus fashioning them to servitude. I wished, on the contrary, to restore to my fellow citizens

their natural vigour, and rest the strength of Government not upon passive obedience, but on the rational conviction of well-informed men, of Spanish citizens, capable of worthily serving their country, and promoting, by common accord, the general welfare. When I took the reins of government, a severe tempest had just blown over the buds then ready to blossom. I rekindled their warmth; I multiplied the young plants. The hostile winds were imprisoned, at least as far as I had the power to close the cave of Eolus. I fear no contradiction when I assert, that never before, nor after my administration, had the Nine Celestial Sisters been more ardently courted. Religion, morals, philosophy, politics, all fell within their attributes; all-powerful as they were to inspire a taste, a sense of what is beautiful and just, of making truth apparent to all, of embellishing science, of rendering virtue amiable and of easy practice. The chisel, the graver, the pencil, the easel, the lyre, at once conspired to produce a noble enthusiasm, and to revive a patriotic spirit. Talent, left to itself, freely displayed its powers. I encouraged emulation. Government made a parade of this encouragement; and in more than one respect, modern Spain beheld the revival of her ancient glory.

It depended not on me, if the arts, of which the preceding reign had begun the restoration, did not get beyond the second childhood into which they

had relapsed. The title of Protector of the Academy was not merely a nominal one, but a real office, which I accepted with the intention and the desire to fulfil its duties. The academicians found in me a colleague anxious to go beyond their wishes. Artists in general, academicians or others, are aware that I was not only a protector, but an officious friend. The youngest regarded me as a father. I opened before them an honourable and useful career, whether in Spain or elsewhere. All the means of study were at their disposal. I strove to stimulate a taste for the arts in the opulent classes, who could offer to talent the just reward of its labours. The middle rank could procure, at a slight expense, all the productions of genius, the moderate price of which brought them within the reach of the most moderate incomes.¹

In spite of the embarrassments of war, from the commencement of 1793, a library was granted to the academy; books, engravings, drawings, all were

¹ Charles IV. made his first visit to the Academy in July, 1794; he was accompanied by the queen, by the infantas Donna Maria Amelia and Donna Maria Louisa, by the infant Don Antonio, and by the Prince of Parma. The King presented to the Academy several drawings, his own, and the Queen's productions. "These attempts," he said, "are of little value, but, as tributes which we wish to deposit in this temple of the arts, they may induce such of my subjects as are blessed with fortune, and who desire to please me, to redouble their efforts towards filling these halls with more perfect productions, the works of their children, or of the artists to whose labours they shall have extended their protection."

at the service of the public, as much for the study of models, as for the satisfaction of curiosity. Painting and sculpture had long been neglected, and languished in so shameful a desertion, that the very taste for them was lost.²

² The decay of the arts in the Peninsula coincides with the degradation of literature during the last days of the Austrian dynasty. The wars of the succession did not permit Philip V. to restore the worship of the Muses, and Ferdinand VI., in the bosom of a long peace, could scarcely see the dawn of that day which was to light the reigns of Charles III. and Charles IV. I will relate but one fact to show into what degradation had fallen the art of painting in our country; an art amongst us so nobly exercised in former times by the Murillos, the Velasquez, Ribera, and other masters of the Spanish school. The influence of the court of Louis XIV. acted powerfully on our young dynasty. The capital and the provinces hastened to collect French models. The cultivation of silk-worms, the national manufactures, were wholly neglected,—such was the result of the minister, Jean Orry's, self-interested preference for the success of his country's industry. The stuffs of Lyons invaded our dwelling-houses. This mania banished the best works of our old painters to the very lofts, where they were packed up amongst useless lumber, as if none knew what to do with them. They were sold for next to nothing, at sales of valueless articles, indiscriminately thrown into the street at certain periods of the year. A permanent stall of this kind existed in the suburb de Rastro, inhabited by the lowest orders, and incredible to relate, though true, the quantity of pictures was such, and the purchasers so little anxious about them, that historical and allegorical paintings, estimated by the number of figures they represented, large or small, taking one with the other, brought about forty sous a head.

It was thus that Don Juan Pacheco, a Portuguese gentleman, formerly page to Ferdinand VI., collected his fine gallery, as he more than once assured me. Don Bernardo Iriarte employed the

We had to circulate the models of foreign schools, and those of our own, which were scarcely less rare ; thus affording at once employment and emulation to our young artists. I particularly applied myself to the subject of engraving and drawing. We soon wanted hands, so numerous were the orders. The Royal Chalcography, almost forgotten, was again set in motion, without regard to expense. The rival enterprizes, designedly created, rekindled its zeal. Engraving attained a degree of perfection to which it had never before arrived. Artists and amateurs ultimately found access to countless treasures, till now unknown, or concealed.

the same means to make the magnificent collection, the remains of which were purchased, at Paris, for his highness the Prince of Wurtemberg.

At last this Vandalism awakened some remorse. Ferdinand VI. created an Academy of Arts, to which he gave his name ; but the arts were not easily raised from such lasting depression ; the less so, when they had to contend against idleness and bad taste. In the reign of Charles III., the presence of Mengs, the Raphael of Germany, during twelve successive years, did honour to Spain, and enriched it with magnificent works, but without reviving the good old times of our former glory. It is true that some imitators endeavoured to follow his steps, yet he did not found a school, either with us or elsewhere. This may have arisen from carelessness on his part. Be it as it may, the artists of his day, many of whom lived to see the reign of Charles IV., received, at last, the reward of their exertions. The career of the fine arts, lately so ungrateful, or at best requited by barren praise, now offered not only fame but solid advantages ; if its progress was in some respects less satisfactory than I could have wished, no parsimony or hindrance was shewn to it on the part of Government.

Let us here throw a retrospect at the labours, which, after having been either abandoned, or neglectfully pursued for want of support, in the preceding reigns, were continued by my care; and at the works which I had caused to be effectually undertaken, in order to generalize the progress by reviving the sublime ideas of religion, politics, and national glory.

Collection of Portraits of the Illustrious Men of Spain, with Biographical Notices.

The like of the Kings of Spain.

The like of the Costumes of Titian, augmented by those of Spain.

Costumes of the Spaniards of every province.

Those of other modern nations, derived from the Universal Traveller.

Collection of Engravings from the Bible, that fruitful source of religious thoughts and historical traits; from whence artists chosen for this great work cannot fail to derive lofty inspirations.

Iconology, another abundant source of moral motives and ideas, in the allegorical style.

Collection of Engravings from the antique, belonging to the Academy.

One from the best pictures in the palace of his Majesty, a work designed to facilitate the study of great models, from all schools, to illustrate our own school, so little or so ill-known in Europe. This undertaking was shared between the national and the French ones; not that Spain was deficient

in them, but with a view to excite emulation, and to compare the progress of each country in engraving. This rivalry procured us, at that time, more than one triumph.

A host of detached works emanated from the Royal Chalcography. The views of d'Aranjuez; the mosaics of Rielvès and Jumilla; the twenty-four fresco engravings of Jordano in the Cason of the Buen Retiro; the horses of Velasquez; the Apostles and our Saviour, by Raphael d'Urbino.

These productions were not useful to the arts alone; the graver served the sciences also. The Hydrographic Dépôt corrected its earlier labours, and augmented its valuable collection, by a quantity of maps, plans, views, drawings, compasses, and nautical scales, the works of our sailors, who, at this time, were scattered over every sea. I did not wish these treasures to lie hidden, or be at the disposal of a limited number of persons: all were accessible to the public, and brought within every one's reach by moderate prices. These great publications deserved a distinguished reception in both hemispheres. Our learned Europe did us justice under the twofold aspect of science and of execution.

Other labours of the same kind, of which I lived to see the accomplishment, were begun after my becoming minister; amongst these the Atlas, or Collection of Spherical Charts, and a new Course of Geography, ancient and modern, contributions

to which were supplied by the unfortunate Ancillon, whose premature end excited such lively regret.

Among these labours must also be numbered the project of a Picturesque and Historical Journey through Spain, which, by dint of patriotism and perseverance, I succeeded in bringing to a successful termination. I shall speak of it more minutely in the second part of these Memoirs. All the works I have just quoted belong exclusively to the six first years of my administration.

Oh! why was I not able to bring forward and support every man of talent, and endow my country with the chefs-d'œuvre of the arts; but the embarrassed state of the treasury, the continual disturbances of Europe, were opposed to the realization of my wishes. Nevertheless, nothing was neglected. The progressive movement was not checked. We made the most of the talents to be found amongst us. If the modern Spanish artists could not found a school capable of rivaling that of our ancient masters, at least they paved the way for it; and, in some respects, principally in drawing and engraving, nothing was left to desire.

General esteem deservedly requited Don Francisco Goya, Don Fernando Selma, Don Juan Salvador Carmona, Don Joseph Lopez Enguidanos, Don Francisco Bayeu, Don Vicente Lopez, Don Antonio Carnicero, Don Manuel Carmona, Don Miguel Rodriguez, Don Mariano Pio Rivero, Don

Luis Pared, and the indefatigable Echevarria.³ Many other names are also entitled to praise. Traits of original talent and of the purest taste recommend those of Acuña, Alegre, Ballesteros, Barcelon, Blanco, Boiæ, Bonet, Braudé, Bruneté, Camaron, Capilla, Carbonnell, Castillo, Cobo, Esquivál, Estève, Fabregat, Fonceia, Gabriel, Ganborino, Gasió, Grollier, Jimeno, Latasa, Mata, Marcó, Martí, Más, Miranda, Moreno, Tejada, Montaner, Navia, Pasqual, Pilequer, Prades, Prò, Doña Isabel Ramvrez, Ramos, Ribelles, Rico, Risco, the two Vasques, Ugena, and so many others, all leaving successively the Academy to spread the taste for painting, engraving, and drawing, even through the remotest provinces of Spain and America.

No capital, whether in the Peninsula or in our colonies, was wanting in professors or in means of instruction.

After so many years of absence, writing in a strange land, with no other resource save my own recollections, I am sensible that I forget many honourable names, well worthy to be recalled in this place. Those who have surmounted the fatal revolutions of the country, will perhaps supply the void left by the weakness of my memory. It is for them to bear witness in favour of that epoch.

³ This excellent artist is less known in Spain than in Mexico, where he was the director of the Royal Academy of the fine arts, created under the name of San Carlos.

They may tell the present generation whether the fine arts have a right to complain of it.

As to architecture and sculpture, their restoration was complete. Government chose to direct and watch over their progress. All the plans and models remained unexecuted until they obtained the formal approbation of the academy. None could exert these arts unless they were architects legally recognized, whether at Madrid or Valentia. This rule, inflexibly observed, was neither a tyranny nor a monopoly; it was intended to preserve the arts; it was a premium granted to real talent and classic study. Bad taste and eccentricity had been every where introduced in a scandalous manner. There was a rage for the wonderful, the extraordinary, which had plunged into a ridiculous mania for monstrosities.

The rigid regulations of the academy would admit of no distinction, but checked all the grotesque, all the fantastic excrescences which were at utter variance with ancient monuments. Regularity of proportion, good taste, discreet embellishment became appreciated, and the new edifices consecrated to the service of the public, or to the solemnities of religion, appeared with credit beside the antique wonders of the age of the fine arts.

I may be allowed, as I proceed, to name the principal architects and sculptors who contributed to the happy restoration of their arts, commenced and completed under the reign of Charles IV.

Don Ventura Rodriguez, Don Francisco Sabatini, Villanueva, Arnal, Lopez, Freyre, Martinez de la Torre, Asensio, Quintilian, and the great sculptor Adam, whose conception and execution were most brilliant, and who delighted in spreading science among his numerous pupils.

Need I speak of music ? Need I recall to mind how greatly it was improved in our theatres ! The sublime elevation of tone it attained in our temples of worship ! With what ardour was every where cultivated this language of the angels, which became so general, I will even say so common, in the kingdom ! I knew the value of music ; it formed part of my plans of civilization and useful reform.

By liberalities, employments, pensions, and benefices, I created artists ; these means are all-sufficient. The following are the names of some musicians of deserved celebrity :

First, Don Francisco Xavier Garcia, better known under the name of Espagnolette, incumbent and head organist of the cathedral of Saragossa.

Don Francisco Gutierrez, chaplain to the King.

Don Felix Lopez, and Don Joseph Lidon, head organists of the Chapel Royal.

Marchal, musician to the King.

Don Raymond Perez, head organist of the cathedral of Osma.

Don Vicente Palacios, of that of Granada.

Don Ramon Garay, of that of Jaën.

Fathers Asain and Garcia; besides a crowd of other men of acknowledged talent. Abreu, Calvo, Rodriguez, Coma, Puig, Ferrandiere, La Senna, Montero, Moreti,⁴ Musat, Vidal, &c. &c.; not forgetting the two ladies who distinguished themselves at this period—Doña Maria de los Martyrs Garcia Quintana, and Doña Maria del Carmen Hurtado. The last, born at Seville, was scarcely twelve years old when she brought herself into notice by her productions. All connoisseurs admired the subjects, the grace, the originality of the compositions which this extraordinary child gave to the public before she had attained her fifteenth year.

On thus beholding that, by a general impulse, instruction, a taste for the arts, and a passion for glory gained on us step by step, that academic institutions spontaneously increased, that talent disclosed itself on all sides, and hastened to concur with the views of a government which sought to revive a sense of the beautiful, to encourage all that was useful, and to enhance harmless pleasures, I shed tears of joy; I floated in a kind of delirium of delight. To those who spoke to me of the danger, of the abuse of so many enlightening studies, so much mental activity, I replied with Moses, "Would to God that all in Israel were prophets."

⁴ See the Biographic Index.

Yet it sufficed me not to have rekindled the sacred fire; I wished to secure its inheritance to posterity, and that the brightness of the present might not prove a passing meteor. In order to prevent the re-action of obscurity, the press became the depository of our acquired experience. I urged, I besought authors to publish their writings; I called for them. Classic works of all kinds, foreign and national, which existed amongst us, were reproduced in new editions, if the copies were becoming scarce. As to those which we still wanted, I had them brought to Spain, and ordered translations of such as were worth the labour of it. I have already named many writers and artists who answered all my expectations in the sciences of physic, medicine, political economy, agriculture, industry, and divers branches of popular instruction. I will now summarily notice the works devoted to the fine arts.

We possessed many books on architecture, and on painting, most of which were excellent, but, unfortunately, they had fallen into oblivion. The solicitude of the Academy and of the Patriotic Societies extricated them from it. In my time were reprinted two treatises of great importance, and become so scarce as to be almost unknown. I mean, Commentaries on Painting, by our Guevara, with the notes of Abbé Pons; and the ten books on Architecture, by Leon Baptista Alberti, translated into the Spanish language.

We had not the four books on Civil Architecture by André Palladio. Charles III. had caused a translation of Vitruve to be published : Charles IV. would not act less liberally in respect to Palladio. Don Joseph Ortiz de Sanz, librarian to the King, was commissioned to make this translation, to which he added some useful commentaries. After these two publications came the Dictionary of the Liberal Arts, by Don Diego Rejon. The architects Don Francisco Martinez de la Torre and Don Joseph Asensio, published the celebrated treatise of Engraving on Stone, by Simonin. Don Pedro Garcia de la Huerta gave his Commentaries on Encaustic Painting, or Enamel in Distemper. Royal munificence defrayed the expense of this impression.⁵

At the same time, Don Joseph Lopez Enguidanos was at work on his Manual of the Principles of Drawing, which he published in successive parts; and Don Antonio Echeverria de Godoy received from me the express commission to trans-

⁵ This work did us the more honour, as the restoration of painting by fire, or encaustic painting, the process of which had been long unknown, is due to the labours of our fellow-countrymen. Don Pedro Garcia de la Huerta was one of those who contributed most to this valuable discovery of Abbé Requeno. It was he who made known in detail this method by which the Greeks employed wax in painting. He cleared the dark landscapes of the old authors, mingling with them many useful observations. The restoration of this process gave to works of art the advantage of durability, and preserved them from deterioration.

late the Anatomical Elements of Osteology and of Miology, for the use of Painters and Sculptors, from the German of Lavater.

Music was not neglected. These were some of the scientific works published at this time :—

Origin and Rules of Music, with the History of its Progress, Decay, and Restoration ; a work written in Italian, by the Spanish priest Ximeno, (Ex-Jesuit) ; translated into Spanish by that esteemed master, Don Francisco Gutierrez, chaplain to his Majesty. The royal printing press covered the expense of it.

Elementary Institutions of Music, for the use of Children, by Don Bernardo Perez, head organist of the cathedral of Osma.

General Elements of Music, and their application to the Guitar, by Don Frederico Moreti.

Books of Compositions, and small Music, by Alberto de Vidal, Lopez ; &c. &c.

At the same time, Don Gabriel Gomez, publisher to the King, established, with the aid of Government, a kind of new industry in Spain ; that is to say, a press for engraving every species of music by copper-plate, as in England. The results were superior to any thing that was then brought forth in France or in Germany.

The Government favoured, throughout the kingdom, the construction of instruments, which, till then, we had been obliged to import from other

countries. All are acquainted with the manufactory and school founded at Madrid by a German, Louis Rolland, under the special protection of the King. At Carthegena, Don Cyril Cros obtained equal support from his Majesty in the making of piano-fortes after the English style; Don Joseph Agwer directed the undertaking, which soon triumphantly competed with the artists of London. This branch of industry soon spread in Madrid and in other cities of the Peninsula. The Government watched over and encouraged it.

Let me now speak of Poetry and Eloquence. The reign of Charles IV. had no cause to envy the golden age of our literature. Their revival, scarcely begun, and twice discontinued during preceding reigns, was happily accomplished under that of Charles IV. I have but to submit to the reader the following splendid list :—Don Juan Melendez Valdez, Don Manuel Joseph Quintana, Don Leandro Fernandez Moratin, Don Nicasio Alvarez Cienfuegos, Don Joseph Antonio Conde, Don Juan Pablo Forner, the Count de Noronha, Don Antonio Ranz de Romanillos, Don Antero Benito Nunez,⁶ Don Juan Bautista Arriaza, Don Joseph and Don Bernabé Canga Arguellas.⁷ Don Francisco Patricio de Berguizas,⁸ Don Francisco

⁶ Better known under the name of Amato Benedicto.

⁷ Translator of Anacreon and Sappho.

⁸ Translator of Pindar, and an excellent prose writer.

Gregorio Salas, Don Tomas Gonzales Carvajal,⁹ Don Manuel Arjona, Don Juan Maury,¹⁰ Don Lorenzo Villanueva, Don Joseph de Vargas Ponce, Don Joachim Garcia Domenech, Don Diego Clemencin, Don Joseph Clavijo Fajardo, Father Aquino of the order of Minimes, Don Joseph Mor de Fuentes, Don Felix Maria Reinoso, the anonymous author of the "Ode to Benevolence;"—and many others whose names escape my memory, and who will readily forgive me this involuntary forgetfulness. I write this list at random, without pretending to classify talent; such is not my intention; the task would be beyond my power. I limit myself to asserting that, all things well considered, the good, the excellent, the mediocre being held up to view, on the one side the sixteenth and half of the seventeenth century, on the other the reign of Charles IV., this reign, far from shrinking at the comparison, might stand the test with advantage.

⁹ When I read his translation of the Psalms I fancied myself perusing them in the original, and felt that the author derived no inconsiderable share of inspiration from the sacred writings.

¹⁰ One of the best poets of modern Spain, and the one most competent to read his own verses, M. Maury, who is not classed above according to his rank, united a charming talent with all the amiable qualities of a man of the world. In his recent work on the Spanish Poets, he had occasion to speak of the Prince of Peace. It will excite no wonder that he should have done so with moderation and kindness. M. Maury had no duty of personal gratitude to fulfil towards him: his tribute, therefore, is perfectly disinterested.—E.

Posterity, a more impartial judge than our contemporaries, will say if at any anterior era the Spanish Parnassus beheld poets superior to our Melendez or our Don Manuel Quintana. Luis de Leon, Garcilasco de la Vega, Herrera (the latter occasionally), and Francisco Rioja, may rival these two illustrious moderns, and perhaps surpass them in the admirable art of rhyme ; but poetic inspiration, elevation, and strength of thought, belong to Melendez and Quintana, whose genius possesses more resources, and who had cultivated several kinds of composition at once, and always with great success. I can never read Melendez without experiencing the sensation of a divine balm, which soothes and strengthens my whole being, both moral and physical. What shall I say of Quintana ? He is a celestial Hercules, who lifts you from the earth and carries you away with him, sometimes into the lonely caves of despair, sometimes over the mountain tops, whence he launches his thunderbolts against tyranny, sweeps away the errors of the world, and makes every chord of the soul vibrate to the touch of honour and patriotism ; he arouses warlike ardour, he kindles a thirst for victory, he sets the seal of infamy on the corruption and perfidy of courts. The world quotes with admiration the ode called the Calm Night (*Noche Serena*), by Luis de Leon, addressed to Philip Ruiz ; the Battle of Lepanto, by the divine Herrera. Well then ! read the ode of Melendez,

called Fanaticism, and his Hebraic dithyrambics, entitled, the Apparent Prosperity of the Wicked. As for Quintana, according to my view of the subject, no poet, ancient or modern, ever produced any thing more beautiful than his Ode on the Invention of Printing. It may have been said that his versification is rude, because it is nervous, and disregards idle ornaments; but it will be long ere Spain has another lyric poet whose impetuous march, bold expressions, and magnificent display of heroic rythm, can reproduce the manner and the genius of Quintana.

Be this as it may, if prejudice misleads not my judgment, the ancient era of Spanish poetry and eloquence has no such rival in our history as the time of Charles IV. If it be possible that a living language should ever be irrevocably settled, ours obtained such advantage in the reign of that monarch. Spanish prose, it is said, has lost somewhat of the Latin pomp which was imparted to it by our great classics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but, without having belied the signs of its maternal origin, all the Castilian language has to regret of that rather sonorous than expressive pomp, it regained in the concision, neatness, and logic since applied to its grammatical rules. I need but mention, ere I proceed, its chief regenerators:—

Jovellanos, Azara, Clavijo Fajardo, Campo-
manes, Gandara, who flourished under two reigns;

Villanueva, Forner, the same Quintana who has already been named as a poet, Hervás Panduro, Montengon, and especially Capmani, for whom I can find neither an equal nor a competitor, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for erudition, pure taste, and the art of properly wielding his language. All that was beautiful, brilliant, noble, rhythmical, in the prose of those boasted ages, may be found reproduced, and discreetly improved, in the *Philosophy of Eloquence*.¹¹ Let no one assert that the good method of the ancients was lost in our day; it will suffice to notice Vargas, Ponce, author of the *Historical Eulogium* on King Alphonso the Wise, and Berguizas, the admirable translator of the German Stanihurst.¹²

Perhaps Berguizas erred by a profusion of ornaments, and by the overstrained loftiness of his style; but, it is nevertheless easy to perceive what the noble Spanish language might yet acquire, and to what degree it might combine suavity of diction with its natural loftiness.

¹¹ To feel and appreciate the merit of this work, one should read the edition corrected and augmented by the author, and addressed by him to Lord Holland. It was published in London, if I mistake not, in 1811.

¹² This work, less known than it deserves to be, is entitled: *The Immortal God suffering in Human Flesh (Dios Immortal padeciendo en Carne Humana)*. Berguizas herein took occasion to display the full power of the Spanish language. He was lavish of antithesis. This is the defect of the original; but he used this figure of rhetoric with singular felicity. The skill and magical style of Berguizas excused such prodigality.

Speaking of eloquence, I would ask, to what era can be assigned the reform of pulpit eloquence if not to the reign of Charles IV.? Evangelical orators, either in the first ranks of the clergy, or even amongst obscure monks, ardently embraced this salutary reform. The celebrated Father Isla gave the impetus, which Government failed not to encourage. All the honours, all the benefices of the church were granted to those who purified and ennobled, amongst us, the sacred pulpit. The number of these new orators was so great, that I should have much trouble in recording every name in this place :—

In the first rank we may number Father Santander, the wise and learned Taviva, the good and learned Cabrera,¹³ Amat, Quevedo, the celebrated Bishop of Orense, so austere and virtuous, the reverend Fathers Aquino and Salvador, the Dominican friar Garcia, the Augustine friar Lasala, Father Traggia, Sanchez Sobrino, abbot of Quieipo Vejarano, Cueto, abbot of Monte Santo of Granada, the Abbot de Baza, Navarro, Alvarez, the two Centeno of the same cathedral, the learned Banqueri, Posadas,¹⁴ Prietro Moreno, Florez, Ruiz,

¹³ Father Don Francisco Xavier Cabrera, bishop of Avila, one of the masters who, at my request, was selected to educate the Prince of Asturias. In my early youth I had known this worthy priest, and learnt to venerate him. It was he who happily inspired me with the love of science, with respect for religion, and with devoted attachment to my country.

¹⁴ Don Antonio Posadas, Rubin de Celis, canon of St. Isidro, afterwards

Roman, &c. &c. The multitude of remarkable sermons which were now heard throughout Spain, suggested the idea of forming a choice collection from them, and publishing it under the auspices of Government; for a part of these treasures remained concealed in the portfolios of their modest authors. All were invited to address them to the minister, who would undertake the expense of printing them. This occurred in 1796: at that critical and tumultuous period, what other nation adjoining France would have dared to give itself up to the cultivation of science and literature?

I make no mention of the crowd of third, fourth, and fifth-rate writers, who concurred, to the extent of their abilities, towards the progress of public instruction, and who at least propagated good taste by their example.¹⁵ Some of their productions possessed great merit, others were indifferent, others again valueless.

afterwards bishop of Carthagena, a prelate deserving the respect and esteem of all men; a man of piety and intellect, yet tolerant and modest.—E.

¹⁵ It is not given to every one to attain the height at which soared Melendez, Quintana, Moratin, and some others, of privileged genius. Many, nevertheless, merit honourable mention, such as Don Joseph Ybanez de la Renteria, Don Luis Repiso Hurtado, Don Ignacio Merasqueapo de Llano, Don Miguel Garcia Asensio, &c. &c. Among the dramatic authors some, by laudable efforts, paved the way for a theatrical reform. Melodramas or sentimental comedies, which were more or less in vogue, contributed to purify the stage. The shocking absurdities, the coarse trifles, the obscenity which had disgraced it, vanished by degrees. Art and morality were alike gainers
by

The tribute paid by all classes was composed, as it were, of gold, silver, copper, and pewter; each one contributed something, according to his means; and the common treasury was enriched by these various contingents. This laudable emulation revived intellect, and formed good taste. From abundance sprung selection, or criticism. Certain severe wits desired (for philosophy and literature have bigots of their own) that a check should be put to the

by the change. Perfection is not to be attained in a moment. The same century does not produce a Molière and a Moratin. I do not hesitate to name Rodriguez de Arellano, Zavala, Lucian Comella, the Marquis of Palacios; still less certain ladies, who at this period, so favourable to the Muses, paid them a valuable tribute. The Death of Abel was arranged for our theatre by Doña Madalena Fernandez, and represented with success. Doña Rosa Galvez published some lyrical and dramatic compositions which enriched our Parnassus: she was applauded and extolled by all her literary contemporaries. Other women of more timid minds confined themselves to prose; we owe them some translations and original productions which are not wanting in merit. The names of three among them recur to my memory: Doña Anna Muñoz, authoress of the Spanish version of the *Conversations of Emilia*, by Madame d'Epinay, a moral work which treats of education, had been reproduced in many languages, and was wanting in our country. The Marchioness de Moya, who translated and dedicated to me the *Treatise on the Education of the Nobility*, a French book, much esteemed on account of the good feeling pervading it and the wise precepts it contained; Doña Ynes Joyes de Blake, who translated the English novel called the *Prince of Abyssinia*, to which this lady added an *Apology of Women*, written with superior talent.

These three publications appeared between 1796 and 1798, a period fruitful in good books and good authors of every description.

rage for translating and versifying, which might injure our language. I myself foresaw this evil; but was it proper that, in order to prevent it, we should establish a literary inquisition? Good books remain; the bad sink into oblivion; whilst the book trade and paper-making give bread to a multitude of people.

Nevertheless, with a view to combat ignorance and bad taste, I besought the assistance of my friends, of all those who loved their country, sciences, and arts; I advised with them on the means of securing to the rising generation a good system of studies. First, the old Greek and Spanish classics were reproduced by new editions, the royal printing press supplying the deficiency of private ones, and never remaining idle. Spain still knows and appreciates the excellent edition of the complete works of Cicero, 1797.¹⁶

¹⁶ This costly publication, in fourteen volumes, of works by the great master of eloquence, was the first and the most complete that ever appeared in Spain. It contained the Life of Cicero, Ernesti's Remarks, an Appendix by Nicholas Hortensius, de Re Frumentaria Romanorum, the Treatise of the Academy by Pedro Valencia, that of Olivet, de Theologia Græcanica, and many commentaries in illustration of the text. The work was embellished by portraits of several illustrious Romans, and in the frontispiece was seen that of Charles IV., the noble protector of this undertaking. M. l'Abbé Melon was charged with the direction of it. The name of Melon is connected with all the great literary and scientific works of that period. My friendship for him, and the power I then exercised, aided him in the happy achievement of this task, and of others no less important,

Deserved praise has been bestowed on the second edition of the works of Xenophon translated by Secretary Diego Gracian. Tacitus and Velleius Paterculus, by the eloquent and learned Hispano-Portuguese Manuel Soyeiro; the Annals and Histories of Tacitus, by Don Carlos Coloma; the Life of Agricola, and the Customs of the Germans, by Alonzo Barrientos;¹⁷ the Commentaries of Cæsar, by Don Manuel Valbuena, with the Latin text (royal press); the Offices of Cicero, the Dialogues on old Age and Friendship, the Paradoxes, the Dream of Scipio, also by Valbuena; the Thoughts of Quintillian, by Don Francisco Antonio Gonzales, author of the Latin and Castilian Grammar; the Fables of Phædrus, and the Sentences of Publius Serus, by the same Gonzales. I omit other new editions which appeared at the same time, and shall only quote the choice collection of the pious foundations, which

important, which were entrusted to him. The enemies of intellect did not fail to bring upon him (on account of certain scholastic opinions), a political trial, well seasoned with perfidious imputations. M. Melon was threatened with being sent to expiate his zeal for the propagation of arts and sciences in a monastic prison. I had the good fortune to rescue him, and many other of the literary and distinguished men of the period, from this and similar persecutions.

¹⁷ The editions of this work deserved the favour of Government; the Latin text was added to it, together with the small treatise on Orators, newly translated, with variations, a Latin index, prologues, the life of the author, that of the translator, critical and philosophical notes, &c. There never emanated from our press so complete a work (1797).

were carefully remodelled and completed, and the Course of Hispano-Greco-Latin Humanities, given with great success by that able master Don Caietano Sixto Garcia. All our principal Spanish authors were reprinted, without a single exception. To this abundance of classic works Government wished to add good books, and proper methods of instruction. The literary men and philologists invited to pay the tribute of their knowledge, seconded the views of Government. The rational plan of study presented by Garcia, whom I have previously named, obtained the approbation and preference of the council of Castile. This plan, adopted throughout Spain and our colonies, produced the best possible results. Many of those who now shine in the literary world, owe their education to this excellent system. About the same time, Don Agustin Garcia de Arrieta and Don Joseph Munarriz published their translations; the first, of the rational Course of Polite Literature by Le Batteux, and the second, of *Lessons in Rhetoric and the Belles-Lettres*; both these translations contained illustrations adapted to the Spanish language. The reverend fathers of the pious foundations also exhibited their art, or rhetoric of Hornero; and the celebrated Capmani prepared those two original productions, the Theatre and the Philosophy of Eloquence.

The Royal College of St. Isidro, in all that related to the learned languages, could boast of ta-

lented professors. Flores Causeco taught Greek ; Don Thomas Arteta, Hebrew ; Don Miguel Garcia Asenio, Arabic. The study of the two latter languages was encouraged in the provinces ; competent masters, of the first and second class, were provided for all the universities.

No lectureship was granted if the candidate did not understand Greek. There was still requisite, the combined study of written and of spoken Arabic. I obtained the King's authority to send well-instructed men to acquire the last of these accomplishments in Arabia. One of them, Don Manuel Vacas, repaired to Morocco, and afterwards dedicated to me his Abridged Grammatical Concordance of the ancient and modern Arabic.

I did not neglect the living languages ; French, Italian, English, and German. Capmani laboured at his excellent French and Spanish Dictionary, which rendered so great a service to our language. We stood in need of a good English Dictionary ; this work was confided, by an order from the King, to the estimable friars Thomas Conelly and Thomas Higgins. They also published a Spanish and English Grammar. The academy was uninterruptedly engaged upon our Dictionary, and I also expected that of Doctor Don Pedro Alvarès, dignitary canon of Baza, who was preparing an accurate philosophical and analytic dictionary of the Castilian language ; I had seen some excellent

specimens of it, but destiny had decreed that this fine work should never be completed."

Convinced that taste depends on sound judgment, I engaged all our philologists to submit the language to the severities of analysis and dialectics ; I had but to desire it. On the one hand the protection of the King, on the other the zeal of men of letters, of the learned, by whom I loved to be surrounded, rendered all these successes of easy attainment.

Don Joseph Miguel Alca was expressly entrusted by me with the duty of forming a Spanish collection of the grammatical works of Dumarsais, for the instruction of pupils, as well as of masters : an eminently philosophical work, which proved very useful to our colleges. Don Santos Diaz Gonzales and Don Manuel Valbuena translated also, by the King's order, the Logic of Cæsar Baldinoti.

The Marquis of Santiago, Don Joseph Magallon,

¹⁸ This worthy churchman, uncle to the Count d'Heredia and Ofalia, had completed his Dictionary, at the close of 1807. Unfortunately, some volumes of his manuscript were lost in the scene of pillage of which my house was the theatre, during the invasion of the French army. The indefatigable doctor returned to his task, and succeeded in repairing this mischance. He had afterwards the ill-luck of again losing the whole of his manuscript in the tumults of Seville, 1823. It seems that it was thrown into the Guadalquivir. Alvarez was at that time a deputy to the Cortes. I have heard a report of the loss of another dictionary by Don Bartholoméo Gallardo, which disappeared at the same time, and under the same circumstances.

published the Elements of the Art of Thinking, by Borelli, Professor of Eloquence in the college of nobles at Berlin.

Don Cyprian Gonzales, a work entitled The Logical Foundations of all Languages, with their application to Spanish and Latin.

Two others, whose names I have forgotten, produced, one, the Universal Ortopeya, the other, the Elements of all Languages, comprehending that of Music, which has just been revived in Paris, and held up as something new. The work on Dialectics of Eximeno was also published, by order of the king, in 1796, being a perfect Treatise on Ideology, properly speaking, which contained all that the ancients and the moderns have taught under the different names of Dialectics, Ontology, Cosmogony, Psychology, Natural Theology, and Ethics, or Moral Philosophy.

Ultimately, by my unwearied efforts, and after a persevering struggle against ignorance and the prejudices of self-love or of personal interest, Bacon, Locke, Descartes, Malebranche, and Condillac entered Spain, and took their places on the forms of our schools. I was thoroughly persuaded that, thus nourished by good principles, the study of literature could not fail to produce orators, poets, and, what were far more valuable, men of sound learning, of lofty and generous minds, of refined talents, such as I desired should shine forth, and add to the honour of their monarch and the glory of their country.

Time was wanting to us ; the harvest was ripe, but the storm, raised by a handful of traitors, destroyed all my hopes; nevertheless, in spite of the political commotions of which Spain was the ensanguined theatre, all have witnessed how great was the number of distinguished men, whose recent education belonged to the epoch of this so much calumniated reign.

The following is a brief enumeration of books and writers who, from 1792 to 1798, claimed the attention of the public.

Military Sciences.

The Universal Art of War, by Montécuculi.

Maxims and Instructions on the Military Art, by the Marquis de Quincy.

Treatise on Mines, and Table of Provisions required for Fortresses, by Vauban.

On the service of Light Troops, or Petty Warfare (Guerillas), by Grandmaison.¹⁹

Military Dictionary. Several officers of merit contributed to this work.

Collection of the Wars of Frederick II., with twenty-six plans, translated from the German, and accompanied with notes.

Treatise on the Attack and Defence of Fortresses, by Le Blond.

The original work of Captain Don Joseph Ser-

¹⁹ This work, printed and revised in 1794, was liberally diffused through the provinces along the frontier, during the war with the Republic.

rano Valdenebro, of the Royal Navy, entitled a Discourse on the Art of War. The author wrote it at my suggestion, and did me the honour of dedicating it to me.

Treatise on Light Artillery, which Don Clemente Peñalosa, was pleased to dedicate to me, in 1796 ; it related to the organization and service of that newly-created branch.²⁰ To these various productions must be added the reprinting of the classic works of the Marquis de La Mina, of Santa Cruz, of Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Senen (an abridgment of the latter), and many other works calculated to raise the moral strength and excite the patriotism of our military.

Political, Scientific, and Military Essays, for the use of those Spanish youths who devote themselves to the career of arms ; with a detailed notice of the best works on this subject.

Spanish Honour; or, History of the Heroism of the Spanish Nation : a lengthy work, affording evidence of high capacity, and well known in 1796.

²⁰ I succeeded in introducing it into the army in 1795 ; this branch had been neglected, forgotten, but it was not altogether of recent creation. The successes of the campaign, in 1792, on the banks of the Fluvia were in a great measure owing to our horse artillery, a brigade of which had been attached to eight squadrons of his Majesty's guards. All Madrid often admired the brilliant reviews and sham fights exhibited by this select body of men in 1797. The new brigade of horse artillery distinguished itself among the troops of all arms who joined in these exercises.

Military Honour; by Don Clemente Peñalosa.

And lastly,

A Treatise on Heroic Military Valour, by our learned Palacios Rubios; with Notes by Father Moralez, of the Escorial. This old book was reprinted in a splendid style. I subscribed for several hundred copies, which I distributed to all who applied for them.


In respect to navigation and the navy in general, our character had been long established; in my time, our depôt was considerably augmented.

Don Joseph Mendoza de los Rios published his Treatise on Navigation—a collection of nautical tables, of methods for calculating the longitude at sea by lunar observations; and Don Francisco Lopez Royo also followed in the same path.

Don Dionysio Alcalá Galiano produced his work on the calculation of latitude, by two solar altitudes; a work which demonstrated the danger of the principles till then pursued, and the means of averting it by adopting surer methods.

Reflections, by Don Francisco Ciscar; being explanations of different methods for correcting lunar distances, and solving problems of nautical astronomy.

Elementary Memoir on the new Decimal Weights and Measures. Explanation of the Principles of Calculation, with Notes and Additions to the Maritime Examination, Theoretic and Practical; by Don George Juan.



Don Joseph Mazarredo's Rudiments of Naval Tactics, and of Signals at Sea.

Don Joseph Solano Orteza de Rosas on Naval Tactics.

All these works, and others which the hydrographic depôt either possessed already or acquired by degrees, were multiplied by printing and engraving, and brought within the reach of all, whether in Spain or in America, by their moderate price. Our marine rivalled in every respect that of France. The public papers were loud in their praises of the knowledge and skill of our officers.

This is not yet the proper time for speaking of Trafalgar; but it is well known who displayed the most talent and carried courage to the greatest degree of heroism in that glorious disaster.

As to books of fundamental studies, and of religious instruction, published at that period, it were impossible for me to enumerate them in this place. To reap this rich harvest, no great efforts were required. There were a superabundance of works devoted to the defence of the faith, either imported from abroad or springing from our own soil. In this respect I asked but one thing; it was, that they should sustain the cause of religion by no other arms than those which are wielded by its enemies. I wished that philosophy, poetry, and human eloquence should unite their means with those of divine eloquence, as in the early ages of the Church; that the active and social virtues

which the Gospel inspires should be preached and inculcated, as much as the purely ascetic virtues. This was the motive which especially induced me to protect the publication of certain works, such as the Defence of the Christian Religion, by Doctor Heydeck, one of our best professors of the oriental languages;²¹ the admirable work by the German, Sturm, in which I took most delight, entitled Reflections on the Works of God, in the order of Nature, for every day in the year; a work translated into several languages, and by my care into Spanish, with instructive and curious notes; the Preservative against Atheism, by Don Juan Paul Forner; the collection of the Ancient Apologists of the Christian Religion, translated from the French, annotated and enlarged by Don Manuel Ximeno; the Fundamental and Universal Catechism, by the curate of Orgaz, Don Antonio Juan Perez; Advices, Moral, Sacred, Political, and Military, by Don Juan Ximenez Donoso. The Passion of Jesus Christ, by Father Stanihurst; translated by Berguizas, of whom I have already spoken; the Gospel Triumphant, which, but for me, would have placed, for the second time, the name of Olavidé on the proscription table of the Holy Office; because, it was asserted, with equal folly and malevolence, that it strongly savoured of philosophy! The History of the Church, by Don Felix Amat, and

²¹ This work was dedicated to his Majesty.

other writings of the same character, none of which were devoid of merit.

Jurisprudence.

Don Juan de Tres-palacios produced the Law of Nations, by Domat ; his Treatise on the Laws, and his preliminary work on Civil Rights ; with notes relative to the laws of our country.

The Universal Theatre of the Legislation of Spain was continued.

Don Ignacio Jordan de Aso and Don Miguel de Manuel were compiling their Institution of the Civil Law of Castile.

Don Juan Alvarez Posadilla published the Principles of Criminal Practice ; Don Joseph Garriga, his Observation on the Spirit of Laws, reduced to four articles—Religion, Morality, Politics, and Jurisprudence.

Don Arias Gonzalo de Mendoz produced his excellent translation of Moses considered as a legislator and a moralist by Pastoret.

Don Joachim Antoine del Camino, the improved translation of the Institutions of the Canon Law, by Berandi (1796).

Vanespen's Canon Law was printed at Madrid. Cavalario received the like honour ; and the Valensis' True Scourge of our Ecclesiastic Tribunals was corrected and purified.

Have I named a sufficient number of worthy Spaniards who seconded the views of Govern-

ment, and contributed to the progress of public reason? No, not yet. Without reckoning the professors, whose powerful voices rung through our universities, colleges, and economical societies, there still remain a host of honourable men, whose labours and literary success ought not to be forgotten.

Jurisprudence, Morals, Civil History, Political Economy, Administration, &c. &c.

Don Bartholomeo Rodriguez Fonseca, Don Vicente Vizcaino, Don Nicolas Ruiz Garcia, Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, Don Joachim de Tragia, Don Domingo Garcia Fernandez, Don Luis Marulino Pereyra, Don Raphael Antunez, the Marquis de Val de Flores, Don Francisco Martinez Marina, Don Joachim Maria Sotelo, Don Manuel Maria Cambronero, Don Joseph Fernandez Vallejo, Don Juan Joseph Camaño, Don Joseph de Anduaga, Don Joseph Cornide, Don Lorenzo Guardiola, Don Juan Sempere,²² Don Joseph

²² In making this enumeration, I ought to repeat that my intention is not, for the present at least, nor in the course of these Memoirs, to classify the literary merits of each individual. I place them according to the order in which they offer themselves to my recollection.

I ought also to add, that in this list I wholly abstract myself from the political opinions of these gentlemen, or the course they pursued in the revolutions of the country. Regardless of the manner in which they have disqualified themselves by passion or party spirit, I merely speak of them as men who, during my administration, were illustrious by their talents, the services they rendered their country, and their useful co-operation with the march of mind. They will here find the honourable mention
which

Alonzo Ortiz, Don Vicente Gonzalez Arnao, Don Manuel Marueza, Don Miguel Perez Quintero, Don Juan Antonio Llorente, the Count de Cabarrus, the Marquis d'Iranda, Don Felix Ignatio de Canga Arguelles, Don Stanislas de Lugo, the Count de Campomanes, Don Miguel Abella, Don Joseph Xavier de Iturriaga, Don Manuel de Lardizaval, Don Bernardo de Yriarte, Don Felipe Gil de Toboada, Don Joseph Henriquez de Luna, Don Andres Romero Valdes, Don Miguel Joseph de Asana, Don Manuel Rosset, Don Mariano Madraman, Don Simon de Vigas, Don Juan Baptista Verto, &c. &c.

which is their due, whatever might be their conduct (more or less hostile) towards me. It is with this feeling that I recall the name of Don Juan Sempere Guarinos. In return for the gratuitous insults he has heaped upon me, I will only say, that few amongst the literary men of that period were more obsequious, more supple, more assiduous in their attendance on me, than he was. I gave him especial proofs of my consideration. He was one of those I saved from the persecution raised against them on account of their writings or their projects of reform. But for me, in 1797, M. Sempere would infallibly have lost his situation, his means of existence ; nevertheless, this old man, with already one foot in the grave, tormented with a desire to return to Spain at any price, as I have already said elsewhere, wrote, at Paris, his *History of the Cortes*, in which, to flatter the passions of the court of Ferdinand VII., he blushed not to employ means unworthy of an honest Spaniard. He depreciated and contemned our old institutions. He calumniated me in the most unblushing language. These means answered his purpose. Don Juan Sempere de Guarinos returned to his country. He had disgraced the last moments of his life.

Antiquities, Criticism, and Biography.

Don Joseph Ortiz de Sanz, whom I have already named in terms of praise, author of the Chronological Abridgment of the History of Spain ; Don Louis del Castillo, author of the Chronological Abridgment of the History of Russia, a work written by the order of Government ; (Castillo had explored the Muscovite empire at the expense of the state). Father Risco and Father Fernandez Rojas, who continued the work entitled Religious History of Spain, by Father Florez ; the Abbé Masden, Don Juan Antonio Pellicer, and Don Antonio Valladares de Soto Mayor, both well known and esteemed in Spain and in foreign countries ;²³ Don Juan Rodriguez de Castro, author of the Library of Spanish Rabbins ; Father Liciano Saez, a Benedictine friar ; Don Ignacio Abadia ; Don Juan Lozano, canon of Carthagená ; Father de St. Nicolas, a Ieronymite friar ; Don Guillermo Lopez Bustamente ; all highly distinguished antiquarians, and

²³ It is difficult to conceive how the indefatigable Valladares could accomplish the task of putting in order all that came from his pen. As a philosopher, a poet, a writer of pamphlets, a critic, romance writer, a biographer, he wrote with much taste and judgment. To him we owe the discovery of a multitude of books and manuscripts, which the revolutions of time and the negligence of their owners had allowed to lapse into utter oblivion. He was the editor of the Weekly Journal of Learning ; the Novel or Romance of Leander is his work ; he wrote the Life of the Marquis de Siete Iglesias ; that of Don Bartholomeo Carranza ; the Private Life of Philip II., which has been incorrectly attributed to Antonio Paez, &c. &c.

authors of the Dictionary of Illustrious Men of Madrid, and of the Ecclesiastical and Secular Annals of Seville; Don Francisco de Villanueva, translator of Crevier's²⁴ History of the Roman Emperors; Don Joseph Maria de Bolaños, translator of the Political and Literary History of Greece, by Denéna; Don Felix Latasa, author of the Bibliography of Arragonese Writers; Don Balthazar Zapata, translator of the Abridgment of Macquer's Ecclesiastical History; Don Pedro Estala, editor of the Universal Traveller."

²⁴ This history appeared in September 1795. I was also desirous to encourage the publication of Barthélémy's Travels of Young Anacharsis, but it met so much opposition that it would have required the interference of Government to surmount it; that is to say, more harm would have been done than the book could have done good. Under these circumstances, after long debates, a middle course was adopted; leave was granted to reprint the work in its original language; a French edition was accordingly printed at Madrid, (1797, at the press of Don Benito Cano) at a price sufficiently moderate to place it within every one's reach.

²⁵ The Universal Traveller was not a bookseller's speculation. We wanted a book which might combat all kinds of vulgar errors and prejudices, without alarming the susceptibility of weak minds. The candid criticisms of Father Feijo did not produce all the effect which might have been expected from them, because they went too directly to the point at which they aimed. Besides, the abuses to which the learned Benedictine friar sought to do justice were compressed within a narrow circle. The Universal Traveller presented facts merely as an historian, without comments or applications, but every one might make them his own; the result was, that the simple comparison of the various customs, laws, and manners, of every country, opened the reader's eyes, and convinced him more than reasonings could have done. To behold his own errors, his own weaknesses,

among

Belles-Lettres—Translations.

Second edition, greatly improved, of the Castilian poems of Don Luis Velazquez, 1797.

Plan of Education for all kinds of Preparatory Studies, by Don Juan Antonio Cañaverl, appointed by the King as director of the school for languages, science, and polite literature, established at Cadiz.

Don Pedro Montengon, author of Eusebius, of Antenor, and of Eudoxia; translator of the poems of Ossian.

Don Juan Lopez Peñalver, who rendered into Spanish the Gonsalvo de Cordova of Florian.

among people looked upon as idiots or savages, was a warning which raised a blush, and operated as a self-admonition. To see the prosperity of certain countries, and trace that prosperity to its causes,—moral principles, religion, and good works,—was a temptation for the beholder to adopt the same principles. The foes to mental light felt the blow; they guessed the author's intention; the book was unrelentingly attacked; I vanquished this resistance. Few persons are aware at what cost I achieved this triumph! O my dear country! the invention of the compass gave thee the conquest of the New World. Previously to the discovery of America, a wall, built up to the sky, forbade thy approach. The Traveller threw down this wall of separation; Spain, so long behind-hand, was so greedy of knowledge and learning, that never was any book received with so much eagerness. Thousands of subscribers appeared from all quarters. Published in small fragments, the price scared not even those whose means were the most scanty. Estala knew how to render his book agreeable, and far more interesting than that of Laporte. He corrected and appropriated to himself whatever was most valuable in the works of other travellers. This learned ecclesiastic was my reader in ordinary, and I had daily occasion for his services.



Don Casimiro Pellicer, to whom we owe the *Galatea* of the same author.

Don Joseph Marcos Gutierrez, translator of Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*; Don Cesareo de la Navas Palacios, of the *Life and Voyages of Captain Cooke*; Don Ignacio Garcia Malo, of *Blanchard's School of Manners*. (Malo is the first amongst us who attempted to translate the *Iliad* into Spanish verse.)

Don Fernando Romero de Leis translated the novel of *Caliste and Polydore*, by Barthélémy; Don Joseph de Covarrubias, Attorney-general to the Chancellorships of Valladolid and Granada, *Telemachus*, for the use of the Prince of the Asturias; Don Julian Velasco, the best works of Berquin; Don Pedro Ziriza, Cousin's *Introduction to Physical Astronomy*; Don Luis Gomez Negro, a learned author, the Abbé Parada's *Elements of Philosophy*; Don Christian Herrgen, collector of the Museum of Natural History, the *Orictognesia of Windermann*; the indefatigable Don Bernardo Maria de la Calzada, the *Fables of La Fontaine* into Spanish verse.²⁶

²⁶ It were unjust not here to name some other translators who were not deficient in merit, and who were, at least, of use to a numerous class of readers. Amongst those whom I remember at this moment, I will mention Don Francisco Mariano Nifo, Don Alonzo de la Peña Garcia of Segovia, Arrogal, Moles, La Torre, Doña Maria del Rio Arnedo, who translated the *Letters of Madame Moutier*, &c. &c. There were also many sermons, culled from languages: a mixed merchandize.

Arabian Literature.

Anxious to bring to light a portion of the treasures we unconsciously possessed, I appointed the three following professors for that purpose :— Don Pablo Lozano, Conservator at the Royal Library, who translated the Arab Paraphrase of the Table of Celes into Spanish, with the addition of excellent notes ; the royal press published the work with a liberality worthy of the august monarch who protected this literary undertaking. Don Joseph Banqueri, conservator at the same library, who translated, at my request, the Great Treatise on Agriculture of the Sevillian Abu Zacaria Sahia, printed in 1812, at the expense of the King's library (along with the Arabic text), in a style of splendour worthy of royalty.²⁷

Don Joseph Antonio Condé, translator of the poems of Anacreon, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. This estimable and learned writer was the object of my particular affection. After having long wandered over strange lands, Condé

²⁷ Don Joseph Banqueri was a secularised friar of deep learning, especially in some special branches of knowledge. He understood Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. A monastic persecution compelled him to quit the cloister. I obtained for him the signal favour of his being permitted to enjoy ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom, in spite of the formal law which deprived secularised religious of that advantage. In 1798, a little before I left the ministry, I besought the king to make him a dignitary canon of the cathedral at Tortosa. This worthy churchman has left a name which is honourably remembered in these latter times.

returned to his native country, where he was supported by the liberality of a few friends : he sank under the weight of his misfortunes, and died, regretting that he could not live to see the publication of his great historical work, of the same kind as that of Banqueri, though a more curious and a more brilliant one, the fruit of long years of toils and researches, known and appreciated by all Europe,—the History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain.”

²⁸ There will long weigh upon Spain a debt which seriously compromises her national character. When will she redress the memories of a host of illustrious and innocent Spaniards,—some assassinated, others proscribed or kept in dungeons ; all worthy of an expiatory monument, and on whose tombs a tardy epitaph, at least, should preserve names which reflect honour upon the country ! Until this expiation is solemnly proclaimed, there are barbarians and blasphemers, who will brand with treason and with infamy a Melendez, a Moratin, a Condé, and a crowd of other noble victims to the tempest which disturbed the lovely sky of Spain. The traitors of the Escorial and of Aranjuez, who by the mouth of an unfortunate prince, whom they basely seduced and deceived, called on Napoleon,—those who invited the Emperor of the French to come and secure the happiness of Spain,—those dangerous men were raised to power, and long exerted it to their country’s ruin, while those whose only fault was that of having won the esteem and commanded the admiration of other realms, were pursued, despoiled, condemned to silence. The unnatural faction, enemy to all virtues, proscribed also the Spaniards who had the honour and happiness of resisting foreign invasion. A tradition, as mean as unreflecting, to this day punishes them for having sought to ameliorate the fate of their country. A heavy debt towards the victims of whom I speak is as yet unacquitted. Ah ! since these illustrious dead have not even been guilty of complaining, grant, at least, a pious suffrage,—a drop of holy water to their graves !

Physical and Mathematical Sciences.

Let me name the men who flourished at this period:—

Don Manuel Andres del Rio, author of the Elements of Orictognesia, according to the principles of Werner, for the Royal Seminary of Mexico, where he held the first lectureship on mineralogy.

Don Francisco Salva, Member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Barcelona; many memoirs and scientific works; inventor of the electric telegraph.

Don Francisco Gonzales, an Abridgment of Mathematics, greatly esteemed.

Don Tadéo Lopez, a Course of Exact Sciences, a work demanded by his Majesty for the Royal Seminary of Nobles, for the engineers, artillery, and navy.

Don Juan Justo Garcia, so creditably known by his Abridgment of Mathematics.

Don Antonio Rosell, a Treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra.

Don Thomas Mauricio Lopez, Modern Historical Geography, a work executed at my express desire.

The celebrated Geographers of the King, Don Thomas and Don Juan Lopez.²⁹

²⁹ The last is the author of the Chart of Bastitania and Constatania, with an application to their modern state, according to the geographies of Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy;

Don Joseph Garriga, whom I am again called upon to notice, author of a work entitled *Urano-graphy, or, a Description of the Heavens*.

Don Francisco Pedro Casado, Continuator of the *Geographical Dictionary of Charts*; author of the *Historicographic Description of the Limits or Confines of France*.³⁰

Don Francisco Dalmau, among other works, the magnificent *Topographical map of Granada*.

Don Joseph Castañeda; *Translation of the Abridgment of Vitruvius' Architecture*, by Per-rault.

At the same epoch appeared the third edition of Bail's *Principles of Mathematics*, and a new edition of Tosca. The geographical cabinet of the ministry of state was admirably supplied; whereas, on my arrival, I had not found a single map.

Varieties—Politics, Philosophy, Industry, Administration, Statistics, History, &c. &c.

Independently of the stock of intelligence and useful knowledge supplied by the periodical journals established in the kingdom, I have yet

Ptolemy; of the general map of ancient Spain, with the third book of Strabo's geography, and particular maps of Andalusia and Lusitania.

³⁰ There appeared a new edition of this dictionary, revised, corrected, and enlarged. The supplements might be purchased separately by any one already possessed of the first editions.

to mention here the inexhaustible **Valladares** and **Don Valentin Foronda**, no less fruitful in his productions.

Juan Baptista Conti translated our old poets into Italian.

Don Joseph Ortiz Sanz published his ten books, the **Lives of the Philosophers**, from the Greek of **Diogenes Laertes**.

Don Domingo Agüero: **Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical**, translated from **Rumford**.

Don Juan Antonio Pellicer prepared his two fine editions of **Don Quixote**, the one in 12mo., the other in large 8vo., with a preliminary discourse; a **Life of Cervantes**, with striking notes, the text carefully corrected, and accompanied with prints and vignettes after **Parved**, engraved by **Tejoda**.

Don Ramon Fernandez: a **Collection of the Castilian Poets**.

Father Perez de Celis: a poem entitled the **Philosophy of Morals**.

Don Joseph Marcos du Veres, **Sermons of Don Jeronimo de Trento**, translated from the **Tuscan**.

Don Juan Juste Garcia and **Father Martel** remodelled and abridged our great **Preacher Lanuza**, as **Trigueros** had done in regard to our ancient dramatic authors.

The illustrious **Curate of St. Ginès** published his work on the authority, use, and abuse of relics.



Don Antoine Lopez ; a Treatise on Legal Honour and Dishonour, written in favour of artisans and mechanical offices.

Father Rodriguez, of the charitable schools, a Philosophical Discernment of Minds called to cultivate the arts or sciences.

Don Salvador Ximenez Coronado, inventor of the art of speaking from great distances, by the means of an acromatic telescope, published at this time his translation of the Ancient Methods of Speaking from Afar, by the Abbé Requeno.

Lastly, our mathematician, Don Agustin Pedrage (for we must not overwhelm the reader, however great the abundance of our materials) was preparing an Examination of the labours of the Academies of Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, contrasted with each other.

The reign of Charles IV. is still sufficiently near our own time ; every Spaniard of the age of fifty has seen the men and things of which I am now speaking. It is before a thousand eye-witnesses that I retrace this apparently incredible fact, which none of my contemporaries can disprove ; namely, that amid the conflicts of two formidable wars, first with France and afterwards with England ; while our horizon was obscured by the darkest clouds ; when the earth trembled beneath us ; when the arts were disdained, science and literature calumniated, proscribed at Naples, Turin, and in almost every capital of the Continent ; while the din

of arms, the fall of empires deafened Europe, Spain was the asylum of the Muses. Arts, sciences, and literature revived and flourished amongst us; the poet's lyre charmed our leisure; our busy animated workshops multiplied and perfected the products of our soil; a flood of light inundated the double hemisphere of the Spanish empire; and the country, happy in the present, awaited the future in perfect security.



CHAPTER XLV.

Anticipated Reply to those who may not be satisfied with the last Chapter.

It will be said that I have sought to deck myself with the peacock's plumage; that the garden in which I found flowers and fruit had been planted and cultivated by my predecessors. I am proud to acknowledge it. The original merit belongs to them; but is it nothing to have nourished, guarded, and, above all, to have preserved the seeds entrusted to the earth, the young buds ready to blossom, from the attacks of a rigorous winter? Is it not known that a dread of knowledge was strongly felt at the end of Charles III.'s reign? How much was it not persecuted when the French Revolution broke forth! Learned and literary men scarcely ventured to breathe.

I was raised to the ministry. We stood, no doubt, on the brink of a precipice; the torrent had overflowed its banks, and threatened to bear down all the governments of Europe. It should not be forgotten that there were then amongst us, and increasing in power, a class which, even in the

lap of a steady peace, cordially detested every kind of improvement.

I conceived the design of saving Spain from the common danger, and success crowned my efforts. One of the means which I ventured to exert was that of checking the evil at its very source. I invoked the aid of minds which had filled others with so much apprehension, and gave my confidence to men of talent. I invited them to unite with me in effecting the welfare of their country. Such was my system ; I know not whether it had many admirers in Europe ; I was perhaps singular in my opinion ; but I have never repented it, though my political system was never free from opposition. Few persons had the courage to applaud my first attempts in the untrodden career which I had not feared to enter. I must, nevertheless, acknowledge that my colleagues, though leaving me the initiative responsibility, seconded me with much zeal, contrary to the advice of those who wished more than ever to impose chains and tortures on the march of mind.¹ The latter would

¹ I do full justice to the ministers who, at this period, partook my labours. I found them in place ; they remained there. The most cordial union ceased not to reign between us. What better proof can I give of the sincere faith, the patriotic zeal, by which I was animated, when I took the reins of government ? Believe it who will, I became prime minister without having sought to be so. I displaced no one. I met no enemies. Don Joseph Anduaga, first commissioner of foreign affairs, was particularly the favourite of Count Florida Blanca. After the first days of my ministry, he came to me, saying, " I have been extremely

have carried the day had it not been for the high confidence and special favour with which the King was pleased to grace me. I turned both to advantage; I rekindled the sacred fire, a pure and bounteous light, not the incendiary conflagration to which France was a prey. Had it not been for me, I am now free to avow it, our fortresses and prisons would not have sufficed to confine all who were suspected; it was of course impossible to correct every abuse in an instant, but by degrees the friends of literature took breath; what is more, their triumph was not equivocal; they resumed

extremely favoured by the minister whom you succeed. This predilection has cost me much annoyance during the last eight months. I have asked leave to retire; it is three weeks since that Count d'Aranda promised it me; I beseech your excellency to be so good as to grant it." "And I beseech you not to think of it," I replied: "The estimation in which you were held by Count Florida Blanca is with me an additional reason for retaining you; I beg you will stay; nay, I even insist on it; and be assured that, while I am minister, you shall have no reasons for regret." I kept my word with him. Three ministerial commissioners, younger in office than himself, and whose talents were inferior to those of Anduaga, were leagued against him, to enforce a second resignation of his place. He came and complained to me; but I had heard of it before-hand. M. Urquijo departed for London, as secretary to the embassy; M. Temes went to take possession of a professorship at Valladolid; and M. Labrador was nominated judge or counsellor of the Royal Court (Audienea) of Seville.

As for the excellent and honourable Anduaga, he had no cause to lament his former patron; I had him given the employment of counsellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and afterwards made him secretary to the counsuello of state; finally, ambassador, &c. &c.

their station in society; I applied myself to strengthen their hold upon it. I even resorted to forcible measures, great as was my repugnance to the use of such extreme means. Had I not been at hand, others would not have failed to blight their hopes, to denounce them as traitors, as dangerous citizens; they would have been reduced to expatriate themselves. What their enemies and mine were enabled to accomplish with ease, after an interval of twenty years, during which the public mind had made some progress, and when knowledge was more diffused, might I not have effected, with equal facility, at the moment when the French Convention and its Propaganda appeared to justify the most rigorous precautions? Oh! had I but adopted the latter system, how many enemies should I have escaped! Those who have so much execrated, would then have canonized me, even had I as many sins on my conscience as Constantine the Great.

Have I not then well deserved of my country, by following sounder principles, by taking part with literature, and protecting those who cultivated it, from the very commencement of my administration?

Of all the sorrows which have beset me during a silence of twenty-seven years, the keenest has been that no account was kept of what I had done for the improvement of the public mind. The blindness and bad faith of many were carried to

such lengths as to deny the evidence; others were content to depreciate the merit of indisputable facts; others again believed they did me sufficient service by passing me over unnoticed.

Don Juan Maury, when complaining of the rigour with which literature was treated in the year 1790, seems to intimate that the persecution did not cease till 1795, after the peace with France. "At that time," he says, "we were permitted to breathe; the knowledge of French was no longer a title of proscription."

No, M. Maury, in wishing to yield me a tardy praise, or rather to render me some justice, you do not set down the true dates. Those who have had the power of seeing, and of judging, like yourself, the state of things in 1795, could also see and judge the two preceding years. I was already minister in 1792. M. Maury ought not to forget the frank tone taken, from the beginning of 1793, by the official gazette of Madrid, and all the other periodical writings, revived or created by me, which were not only tolerated, but encouraged; all favouring the progress of intellect. He ought also to be aware of the productions, full of useful instruction, which appeared at that time, 1793; in April and May, the translation of the History of Greece by Denina; soon afterwards the famous History of the Knight Pelagio (Cavallero Don Pelayo); and in the same and the following year, 1794, Mandramany published his three books

or Treatises on the Nobility ; in September 1793, the Abbé Matanegui dedicated to me his *Critical Letters*, and Don Vicente Foronda brought forward his *Discourses and Dialogues on Politics and Philosophy* ; the *Elements of History*, by Mably, were then translated into our language ; a supreme order having suspended the printing of it in 1790. I caused the interdict to be removed.

The translation of the *Methodical Encyclopedia*, equally suspended and prohibited at the same time, was freely continued. There was read at a general meeting, and adopted by the *Economic Society of Madrid*, in 1794, the imperfect Report on the *Agrarian Law*, of which Jovellanos was the compiler. Exiled to Gijon under the ministry of Florida Blanca, that magistrate received, in 1793, the mission to establish and organize the magnificent *Institute of the Asturias*. At this time, too, were translated into Spanish, and published, the classic work of Smith on the *Wealth of Nations* ; Filangieri's *Treatise of Legislation*, by Don Jayme Rubio ; and, for the use of the clergy, the wise and learned *Abridgment of Vanespen*, by Father Oberhauser.

If M. Maury knew nothing of these various publications, at least he must have read the epistle of his illustrious friend Melendez to Don Eugenio Llaguno, when the latter was appointed Minister of Justice, January 31st, 1793. Therein may be seen to what extent was then carried the freedom



of thought and of writing. This celebrated epistle is a proof of the tolerant spirit of the Government.

Melendez speaks of the old system of education. . . . "Sad relics of the Gothic age! ill-assorted mixture of ancient and modern laws; our jurisprudence is a confused mass of uncertainties and contradictions. This object claims thy solicitude. Remodel and renew this ancient edifice. Thou wilt build nothing solid, if thou leavest standing one lonely column, one arch, one solitary pedestal or single stone of the old and ill-constructed fabric."

He then speaks of the magistracy. . . . "Throw a glance at the temple of Themis! There, if ignorance has been installed by blind partiality, if lukewarm zeal, cowardly virtue, dares not raise a courageous voice, remove without remorse those worthless magistrates, and stand beside thy monarch, the firm protector of the Spanish toga."

Melendez goes further: he speaks of the clergy; ". . . the ministry of a religion ineffably divine implores thy reforming care. Oh, how much is left here to be done! But I refrain from drawing the sacred veil. Elpino! thou only mayest lift it with a daring hand; thou mayest enter with firm steps into the sanctuary. . . ."

" . . . The sad son of toil has no bread: tutelar divinity, thou mayest give it him! Listen to his groans; behold his virtuous desolate companion, their little ones, bathed in tears! What an

insupportable burthen is life for these unfortunates! They sink beneath the weight of misery; while the proud rich, without one yearning towards the poor, swim in luxury, and abandon themselves to all its vices."

It was thus that men wrote in the first months of 1794; not secretly, but under the eyes of Government, and even addressing its ministers. Will it be said that Melendez only indulged in this language towards his friend Llaguno? Certainly not; he spoke to my face with the same energy. Earnestly pleading the cause of the people, he exclaimed: "What may we not hope from thee? Elpino, how much we depend on thee for the blessings thou mayest procure the people, placed as thou art beside thy glorious and powerful friend, who knows and partakes thy zeal. Walk together, and with firm steps, over the uncertain soil of the court. His noble heart is exempt from mean and vulgar passions. May ye alike constitute the good of the world! Linked to each other by a sacred friendship, give us the happy days which I trust to see dawn o'er our country."

A few days afterwards, Melendez addressed to me his Ode on Fanaticism, which was afterwards printed in his works, 1797. Amongst the beauties with which this production teems, the passage wherein he thus apostrophises the Divinity has been most frequently quoted:

"Eternal Creator of this sad universe! why



wilt thou not prevent the profanation of thy sublime name? Hast thou then abandoned the care of thy work? Is the world no better than an ensanguined theatre for vengeance, carnage, and death? Will there be no end to these miseries? Must the triumph of the monster endure for ever? O my God! show thyself to the terror-stricken human race! let pure and holy truth shine before our eyes! may feeble mortals behold that gentle light, and breathe again! may man, whilst contemplating heaven, no longer discover in it the startling signs of thine anger. God of goodness! deign to descend, and hurl yon odious monster into the shades of hell!"²

If the object Melendez had in view could be doubted, here is another extract, or rather a drama, in ten lines, in which he represents an auto-da-fé, in a style to make one's hair stand on end:—"Ah, dread Ambition has assumed its hypocritical mask and displays all its fury—Do you behold the inhuman band advancing in a body? What savage cries! how their eyes grow wild! how they excite each other! how they trim the fire! The roaring flames rise in devouring whirlwinds, and the executioners invoke the God of Peace! ³ No, Lord! thou wilt not suffer it;

² The Abbé Don Juan Andres was wont to say, that the eighteenth century had produced nothing equal to this ode of Melendez.

³ The counsellors of Ferdinand, God grant them peace!

crush the impious monster who incessantly wars against holy truth."

The year had hardly elapsed when Melendez returned to the charge. He dedicated to me an Ode of Congratulation on my having concluded an honourable peace in 1795.

What Spanish minister would not have trembled at being the object of these philosophical encouragements and exhortations?

Count d'Aranda was much alarmed when the authors of the Encyclopedia publicly asserted that he intended to suppress the Inquisition, or at least to moderate its power. For my part, in the ardour of youth, and strong in my good intentions, I embraced Melendez, and obtained from his Majesty his appointment as attorney-general of the Hall of the Alcaldes of the King's Court and Household.*

For the rest, I was not, on the other hand, intolerant, like the European philosophers of that time, or those who assumed that title. My reputation and my character have been the objects of so many calumnious attacks, that I may be per-

proposed to him that he should deliver me up to the Inquisition, as a heretic; they wished to celebrate his happy accession to the throne by an auto-da-fé. Some literary and learned men were also to have contributed, by their martyrdom, to the solemnity of this festival!

* A supreme tribunal, considered as the fifth chamber of the council of Castile. It is at once a court of permanent assize, and a correctional tribunal, charged with the police of the capital.—E.



mitted, after twenty-seven years of silence, to recall to mind with some degree of satisfaction, the testimonials which were publicly vouchsafed to me.

Moratin addressed to me the following verses :—
“ Power is never rendered firm by violence : neither can the scaffold afford it any solid support, nor even squadrons cased in steel. Where love exists not, constraint is unavailing. Thou art aware of it, Prince ! as is evidenced by thy conduct. Thou protectest modest virtue and timid innocence ; if merit languisheth in obscurity, thou seekest it out, and awardest it its merited crown. Letters have flourished by thy care ; thou rekindlest zeal ; thou pardonest error ; thou wilt find the recompence for what thou hast done in the pleasure thou must feel within thy breast.”

I have said enough to answer those who have affected to disown or deny the services I have rendered to literature and science.⁵ I will not

⁵ Don Juan Mauri, after having yielded me some praises on this head,—just as an act of charity is exercised towards a needy man,—added, that when I was restored to power, I retained a feeling of bitterness towards enlightened men, and revived the system of hatred against mental superiority. I will answer this imputation when speaking of the second epoch of my life, not by mere assertions, but by facts. Don Juan Mauri will find how great is the imprudence of writing, in the midst of his contemporaries, without having any positive data to rely upon ; for it assuredly was at this second period of my return to power that, in proportion to the additional obstacles I had to conquer, I more than ever applied myself to promote the progress

here enumerate the rewards lavished at this epoch. It was not a barren liberality; the examples, the lessons of our masters, made numerous disciples; the crop was ripe, but heaven willed not that it should be quietly gathered in by those who had sown the seed. Many still live who received from my hands the requital of their merit. I consign to them the task of recounting these acts, and shall conclude by quoting the language of an illustrious writer, who is no longer of this world, but whose works are destined to outlive my enemies, and even their latest descendants. Moratin, in the twelfth note to his detached poems, thus expresses himself in my regard:—

“ He favoured the literary men who flourished at that period; he incessantly exhorted them to commit their labours to writing. If our comedies are worth anything, it is to him, to the preference he gave our works, that we are indebted for our best inspirations.”

Moratin was neither his intimate friend, his counsellor, nor his valet; but he was his dependant; and, if there exists an accommodating philosophy, which teaches one to receive favours, and yet be insensible to gratitude,—a philosophy which,

progress of knowledge. The enemies of this progress succeeded in triumphing over all my efforts. I was sacrificed; but they could not destroy all I had accomplished. In spite of so many storms and convulsions, the sacred fire, lit by my hands, is still burning.

varying with the vicissitudes of fortune, repays with either injuries or adulation the bounties it has solicited and obtained ; Moratin had too much value for his character ever to have disgraced it by such base conduct. He then sought to render himself agreeable to his protector by honest means ; then, as now, he put up prayers for that patron's prosperity ; yes, he utters the same wishes at the present day. The violence of passions which have convulsed public order have despoiled Moratin of all that he owed to the benevolence of the Prince of Peace ; but that violence cannot deprive a man of letters of his honourable character, or of his sense of duty, so long as he has at heart to preserve both ; he is true to gratitude, a virtue which is an insupportable burthen to the wicked, who rid themselves of it at the first favourable opportunity. For good men it is an obligation from which they never seek to be released.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Laws, Measures, Encouragements, Suppression of Abuses, Undertakings of general Utility, Statistical Works, from 1793 to 1798.

SPAIN stood in need of comprehensive reforms; but the example of our neighbours recommended a course of prudence. It was essential in the first instance to prepare men's minds; to await the effects of those lights which were just springing up; to move gently with public opinion, and not run counter to it. We had to contend with abuses of long standing. We repressed as many of them as it was possible to remove, without causing tumults or exercising measures of rigour. Some acts of my administration will shew the spirit of patriotic zeal with which the monarch and his councillors were animated.

It is well known that the agriculture of the country was injured by the unbounded, the unparalleled favour extended to the travelling flocks (ganado trashumante). The privileges of the royal sheep-folds, the power of the council of la Mesta,¹ daily infringed the rights of landed proprietors.

¹ A privileged tribunal, to which were referred all the disputes and embarrassments occasioned by the periodical migrations of travelling flocks.—E.

The immense tracks of land, either conceded or usurped ; the perpetual and ruinous law-suits occasioned by the temporary sojourn of these devouring flocks; the partiality of judges; the interminable length of the discussions: all these causes conspired to break the spirit of the husbandman.

It was reserved for the government of Charles IV. to put an end to so many evils. For two hundred years, the province of Estramadura in vain besought permission to enjoy its property undisturbed. In the reign of Philip V. a decree was passed for doing justice to it. Charles III. nominated, in 1783, a junta of ministers from the council of Castile, to examine every precedent, and report them to his Majesty. Charles IV. insisted that this quarrel should be settled by a conciliation of all interests. The investigation lasted three years, without any resolution having been taken on a matter of so serious an import ; the fate of the province, its population, its agriculture, its very existence, depended on some decision ; for, the want of grain was often felt in Estramadura, in spite of the natural fertility of the soil. In 1792, I caused those old and voluminous documents to be inquired into. After so long a privation the province was reinstated in its rights; those of the sheep proprietors were laid down ; the mutual boundaries of land carefully re-established, agreeably to the old decree issued by Philip II., at Badajoz, in favour of lawful pasturage. The

property of newly-cleared land was declared exempt from all contributions during the space of ten years. The standing corn, the trees were sold, or let on long leases, to those who, till then, had but the bare possession of the land.

Three years afterwards (it was impossible to bring the matter to an earlier close), a royal schedule of 1796 suppressed the privileged jurisdictions.² Justice resumed her ordinary course. Husbandmen, farmers, stock proprietors, all were subjected to the common law. A detailed investigation was annexed to the royal schedule, with a view to facilitate its execution.

The whole kingdom profited by these salutary measures. The ordinance of 1770, relative to the distribution of common lands (*consejiles*), was put in force; and the council of Castile was also authorized by government to distribute lands belonging to the royal patrimony, whether at redeemable quit rents, or in payment of old credits against the state.

The example being thus set, the landlords who possessed much waste land disposed of it on nearly the same terms, and many day-labourers became proprietors. Government did not stop here; the long engrossment of seignorial property in mortmain was restrained. Freed from these various

² *Alcaldes entregadores*, *alcaldes*, or judges, appointed to mark the limits, who regulated the conditions and extent of pasturage for the migratory flocks.—E.

shackles, agriculture soared to a height which the expulsion of the Jews and Moors had so long prevented. The rugged mountains of Malaga and Granada were covered with vineyards, fig and almond trees; the plough passed over rocks till then deemed inaccessible. Foreigners poured in, with their capital and their industry. Numerous store-houses became depôts to receive the fruit intended for exportation. Our brandies supplied the markets of the north of Europe. The hilly sides of Valentia and Catalonia were also restored to cultivation; and in all the ports of the Peninsula the produce of our soil was eagerly sought. The interior of the kingdom was abundantly provided. But for the fatal and inevitable war, provoked by the cabinet of St. James's, no nation of the Continent could have boasted of greater happiness.

One of the chief wants of the country, at this period, was the encouragement and increase of the breed of horses. A mistaken vanity had constantly rejected all mixture with foreign breeds, under pretext of preserving the delicacy of our own horses, which are not strong enough for war, and whose fragility rendered them scarcely fit for agriculture or land carriage. Could no middle course be adopted? Might one not preserve what was good, and acquire at the same time that in which we were deficient?

On entering the administration, I was struck with the paucity of horses for the army; I sought

all possible means to remedy it. The evil had continued increasing from the time of Philip V. At last I succeeded in procuring the liberal encouragement of this branch of industry and agriculture in all the provinces of the kingdom, excepting those whence we derived the horses of a fine and privileged breed. Foreign stallions were admitted ; the horse-breeders of Castile, where the use of the male ass is permitted, might now bring their mares to the horse, if such was their inclination. The privileges and exemptions of the ordinance of 1763, in favour of the delicate breeds of Andalusia, Murcia, and Estramadura, were rendered common to all the provinces. I followed in this the ancient laws and traditions which tell us of the handsome and powerful horses of Galicia, the Asturias, Arragon, and other parts of Spain. I went still further ; setting the first example, I imported a hundred fine Normandy mares, six Danish horses, some from Africa (chiefly from Tripoli), in order to create new breeds. The best mares of Aranjuez and of Cordova were mated with foreign horses, and the Normandy mares with the finest Spanish breed. The Duke d'Osuna, and other great proprietors, followed my example. The new breeds, without losing any thing of the Andalusian symmetry, acquired more vigour, a greater height, and even more grace, more beauty. It was thus that we saw, for the first time, the airy mettlesome horse replace the

monstrous mule, whose corpulency and long ears contrasted with the elegant richness of our equipages. The Duke d'Ossuna's stud bore away the palm.³ Nevertheless I still respected the privileges of the horse-breeders, whilst I carried into effect the ordinance of 1789, till then indifferently observed; on this point, I exerted an inflexible rigour. One-third at least of the mares were to be mated with horses of their own kind, and in this case, without any other concession; whilst those who devoted themselves exclusively to the breeding of horses, obtained throughout the kingdom the preference of public pasturage; and moreover, the permission to employ the horse kept at the expense of the commune, exemption from hav-

³ This excellent and noble friend bequeathed to me by his will the six best horses in his stables. I will say nothing of those in my own stud. Sad recollection!—have I said *my* stud? In Turkey my property would have been more respected; all was taken from me, under the government of Ferdinand VII., without judgment, without any charge, without the least formality or decency! One idea brings back another. . . . Pious souls! they wished to consecrate to God the pillage of my goods. My riding school, at Aranjuez, was converted into a chapel, dedicated to St. Joseph, the 19th of May 1808, being the day of that most blessed patriarch, assuredly the most pacific of all the saints in the calendar. They sought to make him their accomplice on this fatal day, the prelude to those at Bayonne, and which deprived the Spanish nation of a king who was truly the father of his people. Great saint! if thou hadst any influence on the events of May 19th, it must have been thou who didst preserve me from the poignards aimed at my life.

ing soldiers billeted upon him, from taking care of their baggage and from military conscriptions, &c.⁴ The same advantages were granted to the persons

⁴ The mule, above all the she-mule, were objects of a lucrative commerce; many people were engaged in it; loud were the complaints against the preference shown for the breed of horses; the vigour, the perseverance, the aptitude of the mules, both male and female, for the toils of agriculture, and for heavy transport, especially in mountainous districts, were unceasingly extolled. Such complaints were not well founded. This traffic or species of industry could well support itself without standing in need of protection. The consumption was great under this head; whilst horses, in time of peace, could hardly find purchasers. The thirst of gain had devoted the best, nay, even all our mares, to the male ass, in order to obtain mules; by these means the race of horses was on the point of disappearing. Besides, it is well known, that the mare which has once been coupled with an ass, becomes useless to the horse. How then could the wants of the army be supplied in case of war? At the close of the century before last, in spite of their evident decline, Spain could still dispose of 80,000 horses for the wars; and, in our time, she had not a quarter of that number wherewith to mount her cavalry. Such was the deplorable result of that strange predilection for mules. Under the reign of Charles III., as soon as the family compact was concluded, it was supposed that there would be no more wars with France. The preservation of our breed of horses was wholly neglected, to which must be added, the preference of that king for middle-sized horses, called, in Spain, "*hacas de dos cuerpos*," double-bodied hack-yeys, which were neither horses nor ponies. The breeders, with a kind of interested flattery, strove daily to procure them of a still smaller size. There were not left any war horses for our squadrons. God knows in what a dilemma I found myself, when it was a question of our waging war against the French Republic. By dint of care and sacrifices this evil was, if not altogether, at least in great measure remedied. In a point of public economy, the errors of a government weigh long upon a country, and it is not always easy to repair them.



employed in superintending these establishments. With respect to horses and mares coming from abroad, they were admitted into the kingdom free from all duties : several decrees offered premiums for their importation.

Sundry kinds of industry enjoyed equal favour. An obstacle difficult to surmount was opposed to the progressive movement of the arts ; it sprung from the privileges of corporate bodies.* To enlighten public opinion on this subject, and, by degrees, to diminish the evil, such was the system of government. As soon as the slightest manifestation took place of a desire to emancipate any branch of industry, the wishes of the parties interested were instantly complied with. The art of preparing silk and other manufactures, was thrown open to competition. If a niggardly private interest persevered in opposing such competition, the King granted exemptions to promote industry, especially that produce which found an assured vent, and might supply our colonial markets.

The young unmarried men attached to silk, woollen, or linen manufactories, those who had friends or positive interests in these establish-

* There was a period, doubtless, at which these associations contributed not only to the progress of the arts, but still more to that of civil liberty.

At the time to which I refer, circumstances were no longer the same. These companies formed an actual monopoly, organized in opposition to every development of industry.

ments, all manufacturers, in short, were exempt from military conscription. Prices were no longer fixed; that bad system was abolished wherever it was found to prevail. Instruments and machinery, of whatever kind, brought from abroad, were admitted without payment of duty. Many undue contributions were suppressed, such as had been improperly prolonged under the names of tolls, ferry, and bridge-dues, and which had much shackled circulation; no more dues were levied in respect to fairs or public markets. The rights of Alcabala and of cientos (centage) were considerably diminished, and ordinary traffic was rescued from a host of fiscal exactions.

Government afforded its special protection to navigation and commerce. Shipbuilders, already favoured by the royal decree of April 3d 1790, obtained fresh advantages; and owners of privateers new premiums of encouragement, during the two wars with France and Great Britain. Our navy, so far from being reduced, was increased, and rendered the most important services, both to the state and to individuals, who turned their thoughts to a profitable and active coasting trade.

The register of seafaring men was greatly extended; it was no longer necessary to order their impressment. The restoration of their ancient privileges, above all of the exclusive right to fish and navigate in salt water, encouraged men to embrace the profession of sailors; their num-

bers amounted to 80,000. The brigades are not included in this calculation.⁶ All the laws enacted during the preceding reign relative to commerce and navigation beyond sea, were upheld, and some of them received developments tending to realise all the freedom which the minister, Galvez, had wished to bestow upon commerce. No retrograde steps were resorted to; on the contrary, we marched rapidly forward. The viceroys of America had a *carte blanche*, empowering them to do all possible good, and to keep up a good understanding with the mother country. The provisional measures they adopted were, without exception, converted into laws by the council of the Indies. The fidelity of the Transatlantic Spaniards never deceived us, throughout the course of our long war with Great Britain. They resisted both the means of seductions and the arms alternately wielded by our enemies. What better eulogy can be bestowed on the enlightened and benevolent administration of Charles IV.? More than once the cry of independence was raised by the English in the heart of those distant lands; they offered their aid, their protection, in times when all communications with the metropolis were difficult, and frequently interrupted. Nothing could shake the faith of the Americans; an unlimited confidence, a just sense of gratitude,

⁶ Companies of marines (sea soldiers) formed into brigades or battalions.—E.

attached them to their last king.⁷ The memory of Charles IV. is still held in veneration amongst them.

The commercial establishments founded in the reign of Charles III., were, I repeat it, uniformly upheld, some, I may say, were revived. Have my readers forgotten the panic, the failures of the bank of St. Carlos, and of the Philippine Company, whether proceeding from the embarrassments in which we were involved by the protracted war in favour of the Anglo-Americans, or by the avowed hostility of the minister Llerena to the company, and still more to the bank ?

These two establishments were preserved, as well as the Havanna and Malaga Companies, not without great trouble and more or less success. The dividends of the Bank of St. Carlos never fell below four and a-half per cent.; those of the Philippine Company remained at five; whilst the Malaga Company paid as high as twelve per cent.; the Land and Sea Insurance Society, established at Madrid, was prosperous; another of the same kind was founded at Corunna, in 1794; it had

⁷ My enemies have censured, as a measure of pomp and vanity, the creation of a fourth company of body guards, under the name of the American Company. What ignorance! This measure was assuredly not one of pomp, and I was desirous of multiplying and cementing the ties between the mother country and its distant possessions. At the time of which I speak, it became impossible to preserve them without identifying our interests with theirs, and uniting the Spaniards of both hemispheres into one family.

for its object to promote the fisheries on the coast of Patagonia: Government upheld it through its many difficulties: Charles IV. took a personal interest in it; he supplied it with funds, and furnished it, from his arsenals, with every means of repairing its losses. Unquestionably, his Majesty, far from seeking his personal advantage, had no other aim save that of calming the apprehensions of the capitalists or shareholders, and of procuring others, through whose support the undertaking became richer and more powerful. The better to establish its credit, the King caused the six per cent. interest to be paid, whilst waiting for the future dividends. That measure was the last which, before I left the head of affairs, I strongly recommended to the minister Saavedra. It was published by his order, eight days after my retirement.

The constant expenses of the war did not permit me to attend, as much as I could have wished, to the subject of roads and canals: nevertheless, whatever remained to be done in the reign of Charles III. was eagerly followed up. The high road from Yrun to Madrid, and from Madrid to Cadiz, was completed, as well as the road from Madrid to Valencia. Immense sums were invested in the water-works of the Grao, where it was necessary to contend with the elements. In Catalonia the rising city of San Carlos (the Alfaques) received considerable augmentations; fortifications

were added to it : subsequently, the port of Tarragona was completely restored. The working of the American mines was the subject of my anxious solicitude : this branch of industry was improved in these possessions, as well as in Spain. The mean rapacity of the treasury ceased to impede their success. The lead mines of the Alpujarras and of Granada proved highly prosperous : they are now the wealth of the country.

The means of government not always proving sufficient, I strove to kindle a spirit of association and enterprize, in which private interest might be combined with the public weal. For this purpose it was necessary to offer premiums, to set the example, and make experiments. Imitation exercises a far greater empire than reason ; and the most inventive genius has need to see and to compare, in order to aim at new creations.

There was a time when Spain had no occasion to apply to foreigners for lessons or models. More powerful then than she ever was before or since, she was the mistress and arbitress of the arts ! but the Spaniards, subsequently wishing to appear better Christians than their ancestors, banished a whole race of laborious men,—the true promoters and props of commerce and of industry, but who adored the Divinity in a different manner. All the gold of America cannot repurchase what we have lost. After this religious clearance, repeated with respect to the Moors,

Spain saw herself thrown back and impoverished, in spite of the barren abundance of metals of which she had engrossed the sources. Nations more tolerant than we were, received the wreck of our former industrious wealth. It was time to open our eyes to our situation; it rested with ourselves to improve it. It was on the accession of the Bourbon dynasty that foreigners came to govern us on our native soil;⁸ some to give up the country to intrigue, others to promote the interests of their own native land. For my part I also encouraged the visits of strangers, not that they should govern us (so long as I was minister, never did they obtain any preference over our own statesmen), but that they should be our adopted brothers, and useful fellow citizens; valuable for the knowledge, the industry, and the capital which they brought into Spain.

Such was the motive of the royal decree of the 8th of September 1797, which I have already mentioned⁹—the first law of toleration proclaimed for the last three hundred years!

⁸ The Marquis De Louville, Father Daubenton, Jean Orry, Alberoni, the Princess des Ursins, Ripperda, Squilace, Grimaldi, &c. &c.

⁹ In the preceding reign, Don Manuel de Roda had obtained from Charles III. the permission to admit some artisans or manufacturers, of whom our reviving factories stood much in need. These foreigners were not bound to profess the Catholic religion; but at the end of this reign, or rather as soon as Roda's eyes were closed, the system of intolerance having revived, these foreigners

This decree, issued by the King, of his own authority, without being submitted to the customary formalities, which would have shackled its enactment, granted every artist, manufacturer, or capitalist, permission to settle in Spain, whether they were of another than the Catholic religion. No other condition was imposed on them, than that they should respect the worship of the country and its national manners. I hoped that this measure would produce excellent effects; they were not so satisfactory as I had culculated upon. The portfolios of many ministers were full of magnificent projects of roads and canals, but they wanted persons to undertake them; contractors who would undertake to carry these schemes into execution. The very name of the dreaded tribunal of the Holy Office, although long restricted in its power, still terrified all foreigners: this was the occasion for saying, with Quintana—

“ Thus did the old and lofty fortress appear, on the summit of the rocky hill, and lording o’er all around. There formerly were collected together the sons of war, who defended the approaches to it; from those high rocks they rushed shouting upon the armies that could not sustain the violence of the shock. Now lonely, dismantled, silent, half ruined by time, the fortress, ready to crum-

foreigners were compelled to withdraw; they quitted Spain. It was reserved for Charles IV. to break down the barrier, raised by blind jealousy, between the Peninsula and civilization.



ble into dust, still preserves its former terrible aspect.¹⁰

Nevertheless I did all that was possible, under existing circumstances, in favour of agriculture and the arts; I introduced new machinery, new methods, which were wanting in our manufactures; sundry implements of husbandry, and plants hitherto unknown amongst us, &c. &c. What remained to be done, had necessarily to await the effect of time. On my part, I endeavoured to accelerate its course.¹¹ I was passion-

¹⁰ But why, it may be asked, did not you raze to the ground this frightful ruin? Why? Because it was then as impossible as it was to extend towards the Israelites the favour shown to the professors of other forms of worship. I still remember well what it cost me to save from the fangs of the Holy Office a poor native of Morocco, falsely or truly supposed a Jew, who, in that doubtful quality, was thrown into a dungeon, in 1797. He probably was a Hebrew, and came to visit the sad cradle of his forefathers, under favour of a disguise, that is, in a Moorish habit. It is well known that the descendants of these ancient exiles preserve a hereditary affection for Spain. I was much surprised to hear them, at Marseilles, talking our idiom with great purity; above all, with a thoroughly Spanish accent. They use no other language in their domestic intercourse. How much good might have been derived from these Hebrews, amidst the present financial embarrassments, if they had only been allowed to establish themselves in Spain! Are we, then, for ever to remain the only Christians or Catholics in Europe, who preserve such implacable rancour against the industrious and commercial people whom the Pope himself admits into his dominions?

¹¹ One of the means of economy for which agriculture is indebted to Charles IV., was the adoption of artificial meadows on the Dutch plan. The first experiment of it was seen at

ately desirous of correcting our system of public contributions, and establishing it on a progressive scale, proportioned to the fortunes of individuals. Of all the suggested reforms, this was by far the most important, and the most difficult of accomplishment: proper knowledge and statistical information were wanting; opposition would arise from private interests, long standing privileges, and the errors of many centuries. I was not alarmed at the number of opponents, but I dreaded the confusion which pervaded our finances. A good topography, a good registry of lands—these were the objects of my ambition, from the first day of my entrance on the ministry.

Madrid, in the Clos de Brancacio, then belonging to the Duke of Alba, afterwards to the city, and finally became my property by the city's gift. Don Antonio Fons, a life-guardsman of the Flemish company, and a particular friend of the Duke of Alba, was charged with the undertaking. I had already imported into Spain the ray-grass, the sainfoin, the jonquille, and other plants, from Dutch Flanders, which had been unknown to us. I ordered a notice to be written forthwith, with a view to excite interest and curiosity in the provinces. I invited the Economic Societies to recommend these new cultures, from which poor families might derive great advantages. A labourer having two oxen or mules, might feed them for a whole year, by means of this pasture, without any other auxiliary; the sainfoin possesses a medicinal virtue, and is far superior to the Faveta de Toscana, because it is more salutary and more plentiful; it furnishes nine crops in three years, after which it becomes an excellent manure for the soil that bore it. Turnips are left in the ground, and are improved by its alimentary salts. I should never end, were I to relate all the good done to agriculture during the reign of Charles IV.

This labour, long, tiresome, and of a novel character, required great care and firmness; but I was not to be discouraged. The task was commenced in 1793, and continued with zeal as long as I remained at the head of the administration. Subsequently, on recovering some influence in state affairs, I insisted on this scheme being vigorously followed up,¹² and who, without these preliminary measures and information, would have dared to undertake so great a reform?

The embarrassments of the treasury were daily becoming more complicated; at this period of perpetual storms, it was dangerous and inexpedient

¹² Is any one ignorant of the fact, that during the war with France, and even afterwards, I commissioned different persons to explore the provinces and collect fresh geographical information, to search for antiquities, and bring together all the elements of a civil, military, ecclesiastical, and political history? Care was to be taken lest the interests of the privileged classes should take alarm at these researches, and impede the discovery of truth, as had already been more than once the case. It was absolutely necessary to explore the archives; above all those of the municipalities; but great prudence was necessary. There was accordingly published, at the royal press, a book entitled, "Notice and Plan of a Journey for the purpose of examining into our Archives, and forming a political History of Spain." The commission was given by His Majesty to Don Manuel Abella. After having spoken of the advantages, the necessity of such a collection, some idea was given of what had already been done in the matter. The author, Abella, anxious to render himself worthy of the King's confidence, and of the special protection I extended to him, by placing him at the head of this undertaking, proposed a plan of labour in furtherance of the mission. Unfortunately my successors, Jovellanos and Saavedra, neglected this important object.

to appropriate the least portion of the ordinary revenues of the state to experiments which might meet with obstacles, or cause dangerous reactions. On the other hand, it was fit we should conciliate the opposite interests of each province, and discover a system of taxation at once just and agreeable to all. This double condition could only be attained by a single contribution, proportioned to each man's fortune, without exception, without privilege of any kind. But this system, already tried in 1760, had met with such violent opposition, that it entirely frustrated the intended project, after much precious time and considerable sums had been vainly expended upon it. In spite of this first disappointment, I persisted in having the registry continued. The census of 1787 required correction ; I caused it to be revised upon fresh data. Such was the census of 1797, which, by a remarkable singularity, was published in 1801. I believed, and I deceived myself, that this newly acquired information, which daily became more interesting, could not fail to produce good effects in the hands of the ministers who succeeded me. I had also bequeathed to them the work entitled *Substitution for Provincial Revenues and Universal Contribution* : a luminous work, drawn up by my order in 1797, and deposited in all the archives and offices of the Finance department. This work had been entrusted to Don Juan Joseph Caamaño de Pardo. I feel no hesitation in openly praising

myself for having encouraged and assisted the author of so estimable a work. Besides the importance of the subject in general, it contained a detailed table of the revenues of the kingdom, and of the general expenses in the years 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796, which were liquidated.¹³ The work was concluded in May or June 1798, and printed in August of the same year.

On quitting the ministry, I entreated of his Majesty that this labour might not be lost. The King graciously ordered my successor to procure its publication, with an express announcement that it had been undertaken at my desire, conducted and superintended by me, &c. &c.

Many important matters begun during my administration were afterwards completed, without any one giving me credit for the part I had taken in them. Others were neglected, to make way for projects which I had in no way approved—projects, in my opinion unattainable, dangerous to the country, and which, in fact, brought ruin upon our finances.


What I relate is no romance. I draw no fancy picture; I only state real facts; they are notorious; and I defy my most inveterate enemies, if I still have any, to contradict a single one of my assertions. I write the history of my own time;

¹³ It is not long since, in a sitting of the procuradores of the kingdom, they quoted, in terms of praise, this general statement (a document at that time unique of its kind) of our financial administration.

all its public documents still exist. That which could only rest upon my word I have omitted. I might have said more, if my papers had not been sequestered, with all that belonged to me; they are in the hands of my foes, who have published no part of them. It is assuredly not to their kindness that I am indebted for such discretion. Had they found proofs against me, they would have hastened to bring them to light, were it only to justify their own violence. Thanks be to God, I have said enough. My readers may have found this history of my administration prolix and minute: I have now but two questions to put to them :


1st. The minister who, in the brief space of six years, and under the most critical circumstances, was engaged in such various subjects, with some degree of success, and without having, for an instant, lost courage, or the desire to promote the welfare of his country,—he who was ever eager for improvements, for reforms, and for the nation's glory,—could he have been a base Sybarite, a vile courtier, a contemptible selfish egotist, an ignorant soldier taken from the royal stables, as his enemies have dared to represent him, while he kept a silence enjoined by loyalty, when the hand of his king set a seal upon his lips?

2d. Has Spain, before or since my time, under the circumstances similar to those of the epoch in which I acted a part—has Spain, I say, had many ministers who have done more, or even so much, for the country ?



Called to a post which I had not solicited—to which I could not even aspire—the task imposed on me was, in truth, a difficult one; that of preserving the monarchy from the dangers which threatened it, both at home and abroad, owing to the French Revolution;—from these dangers I had the happiness to save it, with greater glory than redounded to any other European power engaged in the same contest. With respect to our internal dangers, they needed not the stake, the dungeon, or violence. I only resorted to gentle and persuasive means; the rein was never too strongly felt.

With such means alone I might have fulfilled my task, and deserved well of my king and country; but conscience tells me I did more. I almost regenerated Spain, without tumult or confusion; by degrees—at a slow pace, it is true, nevertheless, at a sure one. I prepared all the means of success; I created others; I neglected none that were in existence. It was in this progressive state that I left Spain when I resigned the ministry. She was free from revolutions, respected by France; sciences, arts, and literature were flourishing; agriculture was making wonderful strides; the great Spanish family of both hemispheres indulged the hope of a happy future, and cherished all the virtues which constitute the glory and the prosperity of nations. Nothing can tear from me these recollections, which, to this day, console my solitary old age.



CHAPTER XLVII.

I quit the Ministry and the Court (March 28th 1798).

IMMEDIATELY after the peace of Basle (1795), I felt a wish to retire. I had listened to public opinion, and acted in accordance with it, both by waging war, and terminating it on honourable and advantageous terms. This was a double triumph; but the satisfaction I experienced was nevertheless alloyed by the murmurs of certain individuals who had least contributed to the defence of the common cause.

My crime, in their eyes, was not the conclusion of that evidently honourable and advantageous peace. I was guilty of being wealthy, and of receiving the rewards which Charles IV. had been pleased prematurely to bestow upon me. Was I then at liberty to reject them? Indeed I would rather have received them in gradual succession; but the King, whose perception and feelings were so quick, wishing to raise me to the highest station in the state, and viewing my loyalty as a guarantee for the security of his crown and of the country, was eager to load me with riches and honours. I had no alternative but to justify so much confidence and condescending kindness.

My duty was now to weigh in an even balance the rights of each ; to abstain from all partiality ; to disarm envy by recompensing the services of all, by equitably distributing the favours of the sovereign. Such was my conduct. A glance at the official gazette, as the acts of the government of that day, will bear me out. There never had been so many virtues recompensed, so many talents put to the test and called round the throne. I established no distinction between those who were more or less attached to me. I granted preferment only to zeal, abilities, and patriotism. This fact is so notorious that it would be superfluous to mention names. With regard to the acknowledged incapacity of some, the times were too trying to allow of their being raised to office ; but the incapables, though judiciously and wisely kept in the back-ground, found, nevertheless, as was subsequently experienced, the means of endangering, and even succeeded in disturbing, the public order. Those men actually wished that Spain had emerged with less glory from her struggle with France ; that the hostile battalions, crossing our frontiers, had imposed upon us a humiliating peace : then would those base and invidious traitors have exulted in my downfall. But the treaty of Basle bore testimony to my foresight and good policy. I will not assert that that policy, justified by its success, was exclusively mine ; but the system emanated from the whole council

of state. My detractors were not aware of the good understanding and harmony which had constantly prevailed among the servants of the crown; they calumniated the Author of the Peace. "It is infamous! treacherous!" Such was their language; nevertheless, my just resentment did not light upon those wretches. I never wielded the weapon of revenge; it was always repugnant to my feelings. The disasters which befell the other powers, whose policy was opposed to mine, afforded me an ample proof of the wisdom of the cabinet of Madrid, who withdrew most opportunely from a struggle, by which the enemy alone was the gainer. At last the country was saved; the government had worthily discharged its duty; nations hailed peace with loud acclamations. I besought the King to allow me to retire. This was my first application; but I had not the happiness to obtain the repose for which I longed. Charles IV., on the contrary, intending to befriend me, filled up the measure of envy by lavishing fresh favours upon me. Could I decline accepting them?

In the following year my enemies redoubled their efforts and intrigues; some unconsciously,

¹ At that period, his Majesty granted to me, to be enjoyed in perpetuity, the Soto de Roma, by his royal decree, dated Sept. 27th 1795; previous to which he had bestowed upon me the Valley of Alcudia, paid for out of his own privy purse, which was to serve as a basis or appanage to the title of Duke, the first with which his Majesty was graciously pleased to honour me.

others intentionally : they were the instruments of the English cabinet, who sought to draw Spain into the league with Italy. The ties of relationship with the royal family of Naples, religious principles, so powerful with the Spaniards, their fidelity to the Holy See, my duty as a Roman Catholic,—in short, every thing was urged and appealed to : but I baffled this coalition. Firm in my determination, I scorned to advise the king to violate, without a motive, the faith he had sworn, and renounce inconsiderately the advantages he derived from his good intelligence with the French Government.

The whole council of state shared my opinion. Peace was maintained, and furnished us with the means of interfering on behalf of the sovereign Pontiff, of the Princes of Parma and of Naples ; whilst my calumniators accused me of being a partisan of the Republic and an enemy to the Church.

A few months after this, the Pope found himself engaged in another quarrel. It is well known that on this occasion, the minister of his Holiness (Cardinal Busca) abusing the confidence, and even acting contrary to the intentions of his sovereign, subjected us to numberless vexations, and endeavoured by every means to entangle us in a war. Charles IV. was obliged to recall his minister, Azara. What imprecations were then uttered against me ! Instead of the noble, frank,

and respectful letter which had issued from my cabinet, a spurious one, forged by enemies, and full of harsh invectives against the court of Rome, was circulated. And yet, at the same moment, the Spanish minister was officiating once more as a mediator, and averting the storm again impending over the Vatican! The united efforts of England and of the internal cabal, tended to excite against me the religious susceptibility of my countrymen. O how strenuously they exerted themselves to move this powerful lever! merely because I had thought of enlisting the Holy Office in the cause of tolerance and moderation, which alone could prevent fatal re-actions, of which other countries had just experienced the ill effects;—because I limited the unbounded power of the tribunal, by submitting it henceforward to the superintendence of the monarch, I, who was the supreme protector of the rights and liberties of his people, was called a heretic, an atheist! This was past endurance. Being too far advanced to retreat, and incapable of abandoning the interest of a country more than ever worthy, by its loyalty, of the solicitude of a paternal government, I begged once more of his Majesty the permission to retire from the ministry; and I forcibly insisted upon the necessity of his granting my request.²

² Let me not be charged with indulging in exaggerations for the purpose of raising my own merit. The observations contained

Charles IV., far from yielding to my entreaties, wished, on the contrary, to attach me to his

tained in the Epistle of Melendez on Calumny, may be considered as allusive to the crosses I encountered, and the calumnies with which my enemies endeavoured to alarm the religious zeal of the monarch. The epistle is an historical document. This is the passage alluded to (edition of 1797) :

“ Will heaven always permit that virtue be trampled under foot? Shall the throne of error always weigh down my beloved country, so long the sport of false delusions? What! shall the zeal of that powerful minister, who so ardently desired to rekindle the almost expiring torch of public reason,—shall that zeal, already crowned by so many glorious successes, be unable to subvert that throne of darkness, like the sun whose vivifying rays enlighten and purify the earth? What! are all those who, burning with the love of doing good, dare advance towards the divine light, destined to swallow the bitter cup of persecution, whilst the ignorant and obscure calumniator, sunk in vice, the very scum of society, only worthy of contempt and oblivion, raising his brow girt with the brazen armour of insolence, claims the reward of that virtue of which he is the murderer? ”

Then, after having named several illustrious Spaniards who have been calumniated and persecuted, namely, Columbus and Gonzalvo de Cordova among our ancestors ; Ensenada, Olavidé, and Cabarrus among our contemporaries, he thus addresses his friend Jovellanos :—

“ Thus, Jovino, my glorious friend, the honour and lustre of the Spanish toga, a perfect model of patriotism and generous sentiments ; is not thy virtue obscured and denied? Gross ignorance and base envy are leagued against thee, but thy name becomes still more illustrious in thy humble retreat ; and now I behold my prince, though seated at the summit of power, wounded through the heart by the envenomed sting of calumny. He bestows on the nation the sweets of peace, the object of so many vows and entreaties ; a peace so nobly, so successfully obtained, imbecile ignorance imputes to him as a crime. He upholds the national dignity, which Italian hypocrisy attempted

to

august family. He sought to deprive my enemies of all hopes of ruining me in his esteem, when they should see me raised above the reach of their attacks.⁸ My marriage, as well as my appoint-

to lower, and his constancy is also imputed to him as a crime. If he desires that Cæsar be reinstated in his rights, which a foreign power, availing itself of the darkness of a former age, had seized upon, calumny accuses him of impiety. An anathema is denounced against him! Perfidious charge! Is it come to such a pass? Merciful heavens! shall we never be able to attempt a noble act without the venom of this stinging viper sullyng our purest intentions? Are light and virtue incompatible? Shall he who devotes and sacrifices himself with no other object but to benefit mankind, be perpetually calumniated? "

⁸ The King, moreover, had always entertained the desire of granting to the children of his uncle, the Infant Don Luis, all the favours compatible with the situation in which the policy of Charles III. had placed them. But his Majesty would not depart from the system established by his father, which excluded all claims on the part of this detached branch to the succession to the throne. Don Luis de Bourbon, the only son of the Infant, had entered the church; the two daughters had no other prospect than monastic seclusion, or allying themselves with persons of a rank inferior to the reigning branch. When I married Doña Maria Teresa de Vallabriga (the family name of her mother), Charles IV. authorized Don Luis and his sisters to assume the name and armorial bearings of their father, declaring, in behalf of these three, the title of Spanish grandee of the first class, transmissible to their descendants. I also obtained from his Majesty that the mortal remains of the Infant Don Luis, hitherto deposited in the church of San Francisco d'Arenas, without having been honoured with obsequies suited to the dignity of this prince, should be transferred to the Pantheon of the Escorial. The youngest daughter, my sister-in-law, Doña Luisa, who had no fortune, received an annual pension of 50,000 francs. The following is a copy of the original letter which I have accidentally preserved, and which was written to me at the time by the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo:—

“ Madrid,

ment to the premiership, had taken place in consequence of the express and absolute command of the King. Charles IV. gave directions for the celebration of the nuptials in such a manner that, at the very moment of its being forced upon me, the council was receiving the official notification through a special decree . . . I obeyed on this, as on all other occasions.' Time has proved the futility of the perfidious calumny to which I was a victim, of my having trampled under foot legitimate

"Madrid, October 4th, 1802.

"Dearest Brother:—None in this world are happier than we. We experience the good effects of your friendship and munificence. Luisa, the only one who had not wherewith to live suitably to her rank, enjoys now a competent allowance. You have procured it for her, and it is to you she is indebted for it, my dear brother. We enjoy the fruit of your labours and watchings. Accept the expression of my profound gratitude; be assured that it shall be as everlasting as my tenderness for you. I incessantly pray to God for the preservation of your life and health.

"Your sincere Brother,

"To my brother, the Prince of the Peace.

"Luis."

⁴ Those who might be tempted to attribute this alliance with the royal family to my personal ambition, may give credence to the opinion of Don André Muriel, a writer who is not suspected of partiality towards me. Speaking of the favours granted by Charles IV. to the children of his uncle, Don Luis, and on the occasion of my marriage with the Countess of Chinchon (Doña Maria Teresa de Vallabriga Bourbon), he thus expresses himself:—"On the occasion of the marriage of the Countess of Chinchon with the Prince of the Peace, proposed, or rather enjoined by Charles IV., this monarch authorized, by a royal ordinance, the children of the Infant Don Luis, his first cousins, to assume the name, armorials, and livery of their father," &c. — Spain under the Kings of the House of Bourbon, additional chapter 9, vol. vi. page 391.

and previous engagements in order to re-enter the conjugal state. Besides this gross imposture, and others of the same nature, the more readily credited as they were the more grave and absurd, what schemes did not my enemies attempt for the purpose of ruining me! The last means resorted to had for object to inspire Charles IV. with fears derived from the very power and benefits he had conferred upon me. To talk to a King about the danger to which he is exposed from an ambitious subject, is an almost infallible method of ruining the latter. The impostors, who had at first stated as a fact that I was the object of universal hatred, now laid exclusive stress on my popularity, on my numerous friends among all classes, on the functionaries who were devoted to me, the grandees who paid me their court, the men of letters by whom I was surrounded, the applause with which the multitude hailed my approach, the affection of the army, my ascendancy over the troops of the King's household, the signal patronage which I granted to sciences and their progress, my vast projects of amelioration and reforms, which excited a fear of innovations dangerous to religion and the monarchy. . . .

These rumours reached the King, sometimes by means of anonymous writings, sometimes through subtle court manœuvres.⁵ In order to confound

⁵ I will give one specimen of that gossiping, the propagators of which were not deficient in a certain degree of cunning.
Wishing

my enemies, and silence them, he appointed me colonel-general of the Swiss Infantry. It was

Wishing to quit the ministry, as I have already stated, I was, however, by no means desirous of causing my absence to be remarked or regretted, by promoting men of little or no influence, as has often been the case in other countries as well as in Spain. I had at first intended to secure the assistance of those who enjoyed a high reputation in the country, should the King persist in keeping me in office ; and, in case he should allow me to resign, I was anxious to leave to talented successors the care of executing what I had meditated or conceived, to raise my country to the level of the present age, and render it independent of all foreign policy. Satisfied with having induced his Majesty to acquiesce in the nomination of Jovellanos and Saavedra, I wrote to the former, acquainting him, in general terms, with the favourable intentions of the King, which afforded a scope for much good, without having recourse to any measure of violence.

“ With such a disposition in the Monarch,” said I, “ one may govern more efficaciously than France herself, with her democratic forms.” I thus concluded my letter : “ Come, then, my friend, and take your place in our monarchical Directory.” Jovellanos must have shown this letter to some false friend. (He delighted in showing my correspondence ; he even affected to praise the precision with which I expressed my thoughts, and a certain eloquence which he found in my style.) In whatever manner this indiscretion took place, my enemies turned it to account. This sentence, thus curtailed, and open at first sight to suspicion, “ come and take your place in our Directory,” reached the ears of the King. Charles IV. asked me if I could explain the real motive or foundation for this idle report ? I hastened to my office, and instantly brought the draft of my letter. I immediately besought his Majesty to demand the production, without delay, of the original letter of Jovellanos, who had arrived in Madrid. The King refused : he desired me to speak no more of the matter, either to Jovellanos or to any one else. Was Charles IV. fully satisfied with my explanation ? I believe not ; and he acknowledged it himself long afterwards. He now apprehended, for the first time, that amongst

assuredly the most striking proof of his unbounded confidence. There remained, however, some doubt on his mind : I perceived it, and I only became the more eager to obtain leave to resign.

At that time, the secret influence of the cabinet of St. James's encouraged the attacks of my enemies ; and, by a singular coincidence, the French Republic did every thing in its power to remove me from the ministry.

The famous declarations of the Count d'Entraigues, and of Duverne de Presle, led to the supposition that our Government favoured the projects of the French princes. In England much importance was designedly given to these declarations, with a view to exasperate the Directory against us.*

the persons admitted to my intimacy, there might be some who would abuse my confidence, in order to compromise my character. For the rest, Charles IV. never doubted my loyalty.

* The English ministry was then seeking at Naples, Turin, Rome, Blankenburg, and even Lisle, the means of plotting new intrigues, and of again embroiling us with France. As for the declarations of the emigrants, all that those unfortunate and incompetent men could allege, with any shadow of truth, was that Charles IV., after the peace of Basle, did not desist from sending considerable supplies to his relatives, and particularly to the Count de Provence, and that there existed a regular correspondence between the latter and his Majesty ; but, politically speaking, the faith of treaties was religiously kept with France. The Count de Provence only brought one single question forward, namely, " What will be the conduct of Spain, in case the Royalist party should happen to triumph over the Republic, and overturn the present French government ? " The answer of Charles IV.

To these imputations is to be added my unbending resistance to an invasion of Portugal by the was candid and straightforward: "Spain is not the ally of France for the object of maintaining against the popular will the form of government which now prevails: Spain will not support a minority—a resisting minority—in case of a convulsion; and in no case, and under no pretext whatever, will Spain ever consent to the dismemberment of France. Should the legitimate Prince be called by a free and spontaneous national majority, the King of Spain is ready to lend that prince the support of his alliance against all internal and external enemies." The Duke d'Havré et de Croi was then in Madrid: he was the constant agent of those communications which were no ways hostile to France. My correspondence with the Count de Provence on that subject was long, undisguised, and always positive, without deviating from this line of policy. I received many letters from this prince; he often told me that the cabinet of Madrid was the only one whose conduct towards France and him was frank and loyal.

M. de Pradt, seeking every where, even in the very kennel, for filth to bespatter me, writes in his *Memoirs*, that at this time "I was intriguing in Paris to purchase the crown of France and place it on the head of an infant of the royal family of Spain. Such was," said he, "the interested motive of the peace and alliance which I had concluded with the Republic." Accusing me, on this occasion, of folly and perfidy, M. de Pradt was not aware that he was bestowing on me the highest praise. The following is a brief account of the case as it really stood. There existed in France, as every body knows, numerous partisans of monarchy, exclusive of the emigrants, who desired its re-establishment at any rate, with all its ancient prerogatives. Many persons, who had at first approved of the Revolution, wished likewise for a monarchy, and endeavoured to restore it; but in a modified form, and subservient to the laws. Amidst such conflicting opinions, the chief difficulty was to find a prince to whom the crown might be offered. The greater number gave their consent to the restoration of monarchy; but the fear of the former court-influences, and of the men of Coblenz, opposed

French troops, as well as to the pretensions of the ambassadors, Perignon and Truguet, who demanded, in turn, the expulsion from Spain of the French refugees. It is rather curious to compare the unusual eulogium addressed to me by the latter, on presenting his credentials to the King, with the sally he indulged in against me a few days afterwards in a private and secret audience which he had solicited of his Majesty.'

the restoration as it respected the same parties. The truth of this was so universally allowed, that the chancellor Barthélémy, in treating of the peace at Basle with his former friend, the Spanish minister Yriarte, did not hesitate to mention the subject to him. "It is expedient," said he, "to strengthen the ties of friendship between the two nations, not only on account of their mutual interest, but also for the sake of the royal family of Spain, which might one day be called for by those who desire a monarchical government without the dethroned princes, and who fear the vengeance and re-action which would be consequent upon the return of those princes."

Undoubtedly the authority of M. Barthélémy is of far greater weight than that of M. de Pradt. I should not have been a faithful servant to my king, if such insinuations had not awakened my zeal. With respect to bargaining about crowns, I shall only tell M. de Pradt, that if there had been found for that of France a purchaser on the same terms which the Director Barras set upon it, the month of Fructidor, fifth year of the Republic, would have seen a Bourbon, I do not exactly know which, on the throne of his ancestors. . . . Barthélémy, on becoming a member of the Directory, had some misgivings of an event of this nature; but his hands were unsullied. Unfortunately, at the directorial board was seated Barras; in other words, cupidity and perfidy by the side of candour and the most virtuous disinterestedness.

The first paragraph of his discourse was as follows:—
"Sire, the executive Directory of the French Republic, wishing

Was the first intention of this ambassador (Truguet) to win me over by compliments gratifying to my vanity? Did he soon afterwards receive new instructions? Was he himself won over by my enemies, through some occult denunciation against my policy? Was he offended at my reluctance to persecute that multitude of inoffensive refugees who lived peaceably in Spain? I cannot tell.*

to maintain and consolidate more and more the alliance between the two nations, have chosen me for their ambassador to your Majesty. The guarantee of this alliance is not only to be found in our mutual interests, in our solemn and sacred engagements, it is also founded on the virtues of your Majesty, and the political talents of your prime minister."

* In the same inaugural speech, after the obligatory tirade against England, Truguet, still exulting in the late triumph against the royalists and emigrants, proceeds in these terms:—"I shall not pollute this august ceremony by pronouncing in the presence of your Majesty the names of those deserters who carry along with them, and every where, the regret of having failed in their attempts to consummate the ruin of their country. Neither shall I mention, Sire, traitors who have served the English party by secret manœuvres. The government of the Republic has detected them in its own bosom: they have been punished and exiled. Your Majesty will, no doubt, make an example of all those who shall be designated to you; for they are the enemies of your crown as well as of the Republic. Sincere friendship, deference, loyalty towards our allies, generous valour against enemies in arms, contempt of traitors, and the desire of seeing them chastised,—such are, Sire, the sentiments of the French people and of their government; such likewise are the sentiments they expect from their allies."

This discourse seemed to impose it as a duty upon the King to become the associate or accomplice of the fierce party who had lately achieved in France the memorable exploit of the 4th of September. My Castilian pride took umbrage. I strictly
confined

His conference with the King was sufficiently prolix, and even unbecoming. It exclusively adverted to the revelations of Duverne de Presle, to the intercourse supposed to exist between citizen Barthélémy and other members of the opposition of Clichy, and to the fugitives of the late Revolution who were supposed to be concealed in Spain.* Allusion was also made to the political object I had in view by appointing Count de Cabarrus ambassador to the French Government. At last, Truguet again dwelt on the advantage of mutual relations and of a friendly understanding between the two nations, as also of my removal from the ministry.

Charles IV.'s answer was brief: his Majesty said that he was fully satisfied of the loyalty of his minister; that his removal, solicited by himself for the last two years, would, under present circum-

confined myself within the conventional laws between friendly powers; and expelled from the territory those individuals only against whom there existed strong proofs or presumptions that they were abusing the rights of hospitality. Those who withdrew (and they were but few) had themselves felt the propriety and necessity of such a step. No violence was committed. Many obtained the relief of which they stood in need.

* There were some no doubt (I forgot their names) who sought a refuge in Spain. What civilized government, unfettered by foreign influence, could have denied hospitality or a free passage to men who were the victims of political proscription? Truguet pretended that many still remained in our provinces; he demanded that they should be given up; they had already left And had there been any, I would certainly not have yielded to this demand.

stances, be inexpedient. "It might be thought in Europe," added the King, "that the executive Directory, being less favourably disposed towards Spain than had been presumed, was desirous, in reference to the events of the 4th Fructidor, to arraign and condemn the minister in whom his Majesty reposed full confidence."

This storm blew over. Charles IV. related to me what had occurred ; he ordered me to keep my station, and to treat Truguet as before, without showing the least resentment, but with cautious dignity.

In the mean time, my enemies, apprised of the minutest particulars, redoubled their efforts and intrigues. They incessantly propagated injurious reports, and dealt out, in the palace, perfidious insinuations : they contrived to wound me in every possible way. Some came to repeat to me the rumours which were circulated : these very parties were the most strenuous in their efforts to injure my character. Their object was to make me speak out. None ventured to attack me face to face. The blows were dealt in the dark ; the hand that directed them could not be seen.

Charles IV., still hoping to keep me in the ministry, was foremost in concealing from me the scandalous remarks, the foolish imputations which he likewise contemned. For a moment, however, he felt real apprehensions. The scheme was well devised ; though seeming to praise my con-

duct, they inspired him with apprehensions, lest the enemies of the throne (and they were assumed to be numerous, and skilful in concealing their manœuvres), might mislead my zeal by provoking me to adopt extreme measures, of which the ill-designing would avail themselves, to convulse the state. On considering, in fact, the situation of Europe, I had opposed the reduction of the standing army; those furloughs which could be claimed as a right, were the only ones granted; the effective force still remained nearly at its full complement, owing to successive recruitings. Nearly all the new regiments, even those of volunteers levied during the late war, were still on foot, and since the conclusion of the peace, the raising of other regiments had increased the numerical strength of the army;" besides the two corps of observation, one of which, in 1798, I had stationed at Algesiras, and at the Camp of St. Roque, the other on the frontiers of Portugal, from the Guadiana to the Tagus; the sea-ports, as well as the northern and southern coasts, were secured from insult on the part of England. There

¹⁰ I subjoin a list of the new corps that were preserved:—1st. The light infantry of Tarragona.—2. Ditto of Gerona.—3. Infantry of Jaen.—4. Light infantry of Barcelona.—5. First and second regiments of military orders.—6. Volunteers of Castile.—7. Volunteers of Balbastro.—8. Volunteers of Valencia.—9. Volunteer grenadiers of the state.—10. Volunteer riflemen of the crown.—11. Swiss infantry of Iann.—12. Spanish husards.—13. Carabineers of Maria Luisa.—14. Horse artillery

still remained some troops without any fixed determination : I formed the project of collecting the latter into a camp of instruction, keeping them in readiness to bear on any point that might be attacked. This concentration of forces maintained discipline, the moral character and spirit of the soldiery. Charles IV. was made to believe that this was a dangerous measure. Itinerant military schools of non-commissioned officers, appeared useful to me ; I consequently wished to establish a few in favour of that subaltern class, which so powerfully contributes to decide the fate of battles. Cavallero pointed to the King's attention, that there were already several schools for officers and cadets, in Madrid, Barcelona, Cadiz, and Zamora ; and that it was by no means advisable to establish others ; representing my project of military schools as a dangerous innovation. Of this I was kept in ignorance.

One day as the council of ministers was discussing questions of economy, the solution of which was required by the embarrassments of the public treasury, Saavedra proposed to disband a part of the army ; provided, however, said he, that such diminution of the active force should not compromise the security of the country, which is of paramount importance. I instantly opposed it ; and spoke of the danger which threatened us : " The English may occupy Portugal without our being able to prevent it ; France will renew her

pretensions of closing Portugal against England. If we are not in a condition to carry this object into effect, France will require that a passage be opened to her. On the other hand, if a general peace be not concluded (I had already laid stress upon this point on many previous occasions), and such a peace appears to me very doubtful, we are necessarily driven to the above alternative; and may perhaps have to contend against French and English at one and the same time. Who can now rely upon a solid peace? At all events, let us have a complete, warlike, and well-disciplined army, ready for any emergency, whether against France or England. Such is my motive for proposing to the King a measure, unfortunately rare amongst us, but useful and even under existing circumstances, indispensable. Let us exercise our troops without intermission; let them be inured to hardships; let us form camps of instruction with the disposable force. . . .” I was about to proceed, when the King interrupted me: “No,” said his Majesty, “the camps of instruction are of no avail.”

I remained silent; the other ministers did the same, and the council separated without coming to any resolution. In the course of the day I renewed my entreaties to his Majesty, beseeching he would grant me leave to resign. “You have been offended,” said the King, “at my reply in the council; you are still young; your ardour

carries you too far." "That is the very reason, Sire," I replied, "why your Majesty should substitute, in my stead, an old man, who will act with more prudence." "By no means," retorted Charles IV.; "but endeavour to follow the advice of your elders." "Accept my resignation, Sire, my resignation!" said I, laying particular emphasis on the word. "I have numerous enemies; any act of mine will be misinterpreted. At present, I stand well in public opinion; I have faithfully served your Majesty; to-morrow a misfortune may happen, which would assuredly be laid to my charge. Your Majesty is well aware that I have enemies." "You must take time to consider," answered the King; "for the present, I cannot grant your request; it would be said that your disgrace was occasioned by what happened at the council."

On each successive day I reiterated my instances, and earnestly entreated his Majesty to exonerate me, not only from the duties of a minister, but also from those of Major of the Body-guards. The King repeatedly desired me to designate the person whom I deemed most competent to fill my place: I named Admiral Mazzaredo, Offaril, Don Bernardo Yriarte, Don Antonio Porcel, Don Juan Perez Villamil, Don Eugenio de Llaguno, and I know not how many more, whom I thought likely to act in concert with Jovellanos and Saavedra. I even presumed to point out to the King the ne-

cessity of creating an office of the home department (*fomento publico*¹¹); but the King rejected the suggestion, and would appoint none of the persons I had named. The phantom of a revolution alarmed him. Cavallero, of whom I am about to speak, was the man who had secretly gained an ascendancy over the mind of Charles IV.

I learned soon afterwards, through an indirect channel, that he had drawn up with his own hand the decree accepting of my resignation. Several days elapsed ere his Majesty would communicate it to me, in spite of my reiterated solicitations. "Why," said I at length, "why deny me any longer the repose of which I stand so much need?" Charles IV. then drew the decree from his pocket; a tear stood in his eye; he held out to me the hand of friendship; I took the paper; and the King, without uttering a word, withdrew into the adjoining apartment.

The Decree is thus worded :

"Yielding to your reiterated verbal and written solicitations to be relieved from the offices of First Secretary of State and of Major of my Bodyguards, I exonerate you from the duties of the said offices; I appoint *ad interim* Don Francisco Saavedra to the former, and the Marquess de Ruchena to the latter, to whom you will give up

¹¹ This idea was wholly mine; my very enemies approved of it; and towards the latter days of Ferdinand VII. they actually attempted to give it effect.

whatever belongs to either of these offices. You shall continue to enjoy the same honours, allowances, and emoluments, and free access to court, as heretofore ; and I assure you that I am highly satisfied with the proofs of affection, zeal, and capacity which you have displayed during your ministerial career ; I shall feel grateful for them as long as I live, and I will, under every circumstance, mark my sense of the same, as a reward for your signal services.

“ CARLOS.”

“ Aranjuez, March 28th, 1798.”

“ To the Prince of the Peace.” ¹²

I immediately repaired to the office of the Secretary of State. I embraced my successor, handed to him the ministerial documents, and received cordial and sincere proofs of the regard of all who were witnesses of this parting scene. A numerous retinue, unusual on such occasions, and far greater than when I was raised to the ministry, accompanied me to my own residence. They had shewn less eagerness to hail my rising fortune than to manifest their regret at my disgrace.

Many deplored my retirement : no one could reproach me with having injured him, either in his honour or in his interests. My very enemies

¹² The date was left in blank ; it had to be drawn up in a different handwriting. This decree was textually inserted in the Gazette and the Mercurio of the day.

had no cause to complain. No fortress or prison contained a single victim or state prisoner. The black-holes of the Inquisition were empty; peace reigned throughout the country. I had wiped away many tears; no one had been sent into exile; in a word, not a single person had been proscribed. There remained indeed many venerable old men, who had been banished during the preceding reign, and who were still groaning in exile; these had lost all hopes of ever revisiting their country. The convulsions of Rome and of the whole of Italy had rendered more excruciating the sorrows of exile. One of the last decrees which I signed on the eve of my resignation, without consulting any one, recalled the Spanish Jesuits, who had the happiness to be restored to their families, and to enjoy in peace the sweets of domestic happiness.¹³

¹³ Decree of the 11th of March 1798, communicated direct to the council of Castile.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Deplorable Influence of two Men who caused all the
Misfortunes of Spain.

DURING my long career, I had enemies who more or less openly declared against me. I have not hitherto even uttered their names, whatever personal offences I may have had reason to complain of; all has long been forgiven. Being young, and invested with power, I readily forgave an insult which it would have been easy to repress. Such was my disposition; misfortune has not soured it; the experience both of men and things has only made me the more indulgent; but I cannot be so lenient to those who designedly endangered the honour and interests of my country.

In all countries, under any government whatever (I except none), the minister who is at the head of the state must expect his actions to be criticised. If the criticism be well founded, he will profit by it, and the state will be better governed; if it be personal and systematic, it is a salutary curb that restrains and keeps him in the right path. Such was my view of things. I carried toleration very far: my most inveterate detractors cannot deny it.

Therefore will the reader find in these memoirs no names stigmatised, except those of men who

have done a direct injury to the country, and who, whilst they were compassing its ruin and mine, have attempted to load me with the weight of their own iniquities.

Peace be to him who, from either good or evil motives, did not shrink from warring against me, no matter in what manner or at what period ! I have already praised many, and shall have to praise more, who, though they evinced no good feeling towards me, were, in other respects, upright and useful citizens. But the miscreants who have dishonoured Spain, the real authors of all the evils with which she has been visited, those who, under the mask of loyalty, deprived me of the means of defending my country, and so far forgot all sense of shame, as to accuse me of having brought upon it the disasters of which they were the sole authors; from such will I strip the treacherous mask, and deliver them up to the impartial severity of history. There is neither noble-mindedness nor charity in leaving those depraved Spaniards unpunished.

For the present I shall only name two of the number : Escoïquiz and the minister Cavallero, who, from the year 1797 down to the catastrophe of 1808, exercised a baneful influence. The first, in particular, was the contriver and promoter of all the scourges which fell upon Spain in 1807,—scourges that have tortured this heroic nation up to this very day. The picture I shall endeavour to

draw, will be less calculated to prove the purity of my conduct, both public and private, than to expose the events and the men of that period. It is important to form a right judgment of both.

An entire forest becomes a prey to a conflagration ; an unheeded spark set it on fire. The virus of leprosy has penetrated into the mass of the blood ; it is fermenting there, and the patient does not even suspect as yet the existence of the poison that secretly undermines him. The disorder soon declares itself outwardly ; the inflamed ulcer baffles all the powers of the medical art. The greatest calamities often spring from some oversight or omission, from some trifling circumstance which had escaped notice. What is termed fatality is nothing else. Alas ! the infirmity of human nature ! The long train of the misfortunes of Spain is connected with the existence and foolish vanity of an obscure and crafty priest. Oh ! that he had remained unnoticed within the precincts of his cathedral, piously engaged in chanting vespers and matins ! What brought this churchman to disturb the quiet of the court and royal family, by his diabolical intrigues ?

I must trace the subject to its source : I shall assert nothing but that which Escoiquiz himself has spoken. Were it not for this explicit avowal, so well prepared before he uttered it, one might apprehend being reproached with calum-

niating him; but it is evidently himself who, unconsciously, and while he meant to reflect great credit upon his conduct, loudly proclaimed his own turpitude. Cruelly injured by Escoïquiz, whose victim I became, I never could have suspected so much perfidy, had he not betrayed himself by his own indiscreet confessions.

The Prince of Asturias (afterwards Ferdinand VII.) had just reached the age at which he should be instructed in literature and the exact sciences. His august father entrusted me with the care of finding a tutor competent to finish the education of Ferdinand. Charles IV. wished, moreover, that this tutor should be a churchman. Amongst the numerous applicants who hastened to present themselves, I selected Don Juan Escoïquiz:¹ his appearance and prepossessing manners gave me a favourable opinion of him. He was one of my most assiduous visitors. I thought him a profound philosopher and an advocate for the progress of knowledge: he was eager to pre-

¹ The other tutors and teachers given to the Prince of Asturias, since I came to office, were Don Francisco Cabrera, Lieutenant-general Don Joseph Alvarez de Faria, and the Duke of San Carlos.* Those who accused me of having selected men of no capacity, were foolish slanderers. If I committed an error in pointing out Escoïquiz, my intention was to supply his Royal Highness with an excellent tutor.

* The same who died a few years ago in Paris; he was the ambassador of H. C. M. Ferdinand VII.

sent me with the homage of a small tract on the Duties of Man; and expressed a desire that this book should be adopted in the primary schools. Shortly after, he shewed me translations of two French books, designed for the instruction and improvement of youth; and he was at the same time engaged in translating Young's Night Thoughts. I made enquiries, and the most respectable testimonials agreed in representing him as a man of talent, genius, and taste; possessed of deep learning, refined feelings, and consummate experience. Nothing was wanting in the canon Escoïquiz;² it was a further recommendation that this man of so rare a merit was the object of persecution. His superior talents had excited envy, particularly among the men of his own calling. This persecution, considering the reports of the candid judges who represented his learning and moral qualifications, was, I do not mean to deny it, an additional motive to excite my interest in his favour. Escoïquiz possessed the art to fascinate the most penetrating observer. The proceedings then directed against him had no honourable source (as it was subsequently ascertained); he availed himself of the circumstance, and valued himself

² With respect to the learning and literary abilities of the Canon Escoïquiz, there was a great deal of exaggeration; his prose and poetical writings afford a sufficient proof of my assertion. Escoïquiz possessed no other talent but that of intrigue, with a strong dose of hypocrisy.

upon it.³ This man was impenetrable; he could not be known at first sight, nor even after long observation. His appearance seemed to indicate the candour of a meek and grave christian philosopher; his look wore the expression of a calm and virtuous mind; his conversation announced a learned and unassuming man; his language and his promises bore the semblance of sincerity; he seemed to understand his duty, and to direct all his energies to its fulfilment.⁴ Every one was mistaken in him. The priest Escoïquiz, whom I first appointed *Sumiller de Cortina*,⁵ at last received the mission, the im-

³ This priest, who so eagerly imputed to me human weaknesses, was then living, and continued to live to the last, in the most intimate connection with a woman, who, under the assumed name of a relation of his, superintended his household. This was the cause of an action brought against him, with all the reserve and regard due to his sacred character. The housekeeper and the two children, the fruits of this holy concubinage, have successively inhabited Madrid, Saragossa, and Toledo, where every one had an opportunity of seeing and knowing them. His family, thus multiplied, travelled all over France; they resided by turns in Paris, Bourges, &c.

⁴ From all that I have subsequently learned, I discovered that his noble deportment in public gave way in his private intercourse to a sad reality. With his equals and inferiors he affected an intolerable superiority; he required that all should surrender their opinions to his own. When he spoke to those who had an interest in keeping on fair terms with him, he rose to a height from which he would never descend; he spoke incessantly, and was the admiration of ignorant people.

⁵ *Sumiller de Cortina*, an office in the interior of the palace, set apart for ecclesiastics. They are grooms of the bedchamber, wearing cassocks.—E.



portant mission, of cultivating the mind and forming the heart of the presumptive heir to the crown. "How happy should I be," said he, in my presence, "if, by teaching literature to H. R. H., I should succeed in making of my royal pupil the most humane of princes!"

Ah! Spain would have been too happy had the philanthropic wish of Escoïquiz been realized! But the egotistical preceptor sought to *humanize* his pupil only to serve his own selfish views; and what phantoms will not enter the mind, the wild and pensive imagination of an ambitious priest! The vain pedagogue was hardly invested with his new literary functions, when he looked upon himself as the equal of the Ximenes and the Richelieus. He fancied he saw before him the opening of a boundless field of glory and power, a prospect as extensive as his own opinion of himself was extravagant. In order to attain this object, he, from a simple humanist, set himself up, without the least scruple, as the political Mentor of his young disciple, and assumed the important mission of instructing him in the art of reigning. To captivating the heart of a prince, still in the years of boyhood; to mould him at pleasure; to inspire him with a mistrust of all around him; to excite and flatter his worst passions; to create obstacles with the view of rendering his own services indispensable; to lay the foundation of his ascendancy over the son, whilst he assumed an air of importance with his august

parents;—such were the schemes of Escoïquiz. He exerted thenceforth every possible means to oust me, in the hope of gathering in due time the spoils of my office. He, however, continued to manifest towards me all the outward signs of sincere friendship, until the moment of my retiring from court—an event which he had not so soon expected; for, being indebted to my patronage for his recent promotion, he still needed my support to establish his fortune on a more secure foundation. I never saw a flatterer more assiduous, more bold in praising me, whether in my presence, at the palace, or in society. Oh! that I could lay my hand upon that notable ode of twenty stanzas, entitled, *La Genetliaca*⁶ which he presented to me,

⁶ I only call it notable owing to its length. As to the matter, the poetical talent of the author is well known. For want of that document, I here insert the original advertisement (drawn up by Escoïquiz himself, and published in the Gazette), of the three works which he had dedicated to me: “Our first-rate public schools are in want of elementary books adapted to the intelligence of children, and composed expressly for them, so that in learning to read they may acquire useful knowledge and solid and salutary precepts. The inconvenience attending the use of other books, filled with idle stories, and sometimes even with principles pernicious to youth, has attracted the attention of the Government, who, being convinced that the good or bad education of children is the source of the prosperity or decline of a state, besides various other means already employed to improve the education of youth, has appointed several competent persons to translate or compose works relating to this subject. The fruits of this beneficial measure have already appeared in the works published with so much success by Don Thomas Yriarte and others who have merited the same confidence.”

with an air of extraordinary self-satisfaction, on the 1st of January 1798 ! He extolled me above all the heroes of antiquity, and placed me in Olympus among the gods ! How great was his disappointment, when, three months afterwards, he saw me quit the ministry ! He then imagined that the King had entirely withdrawn from me the confidence with which I had been favoured. Escoïquiz

dence. The overwhelming occupations of his excellency the Duke de l'Alcudia, the born patron of Public Education, as First Secretary of State, have not precluded his cherishing so important a design, as is proved by the work, intituled 'Treatise on the Duties of Man,' which, in order to contribute to so honourable an object, is inscribed to the nation by his Majesty's *Sumiller de Cortina*, Don Juan Escoïquiz. It is sold at the royal printing-office, with two other translations by the same author, the one entitled 'The Children's Friend,' written by the Abbé Sabatier ; the other 'Elements of Natural History,' also written in French, by the Abbé Cotte ; which are now in the press, and will be published without delay."*

This advertisement, printed in the Gazette and drawn up by Escoïquiz himself, April 21, 1795, shows, first, his intention to lavish courteous praise upon me ; second, the importance which he arrogated to himself on account of the works I had desired him to write ; third, that as he was not yet appointed tutor to the Prince of Asturias, he had a violent desire to obtain that office. In his book, intituled "The Simple Idea, or a View of the Motives," &c., published in 1814, he affirms that this appointment was, without any solicitation on his part, conferred upon him.

* I have translated literally the Spanish text. It shews the style of Escoïquiz, and of many others of his countrymen. The Spaniards possess a beautiful language. It is like a magnificent pianoforte, which produces very harmonious notes. Unskilful hands elicit nothing from it but a discordant noise.—E.

was indebted to me for his appointment; he was my dependant; he trembled with the fear of sharing in my disgrace, and of losing that situation which afforded him the means of advancement. The usual preservative in a peril of this nature (though honour and probity hardly sanction its use), is known to every one; it is almost invariably resorted to at court, and that in every country, whatever be the form of government. To disowning the fallen minister—to reprobate his acts—to aggravate his errors, and even to invent fresh ones, with the view of compassing his ruin,—this is the way to keep afloat, and to remain in favour. Thus we daily see courtiers contrive to escape falling into disgrace. Under such circumstances, the wretch, Escoïquiz, whose fears magnified the danger, did not blush to degrade himself by an act of base treachery, which he himself states in his own book, when attempting, in 1814, to justify himself,⁷ he boasts of having made against me the most energetic representations to the King and Queen, both verbally and in writing.⁸

⁷ "Simple Idea, or a View of the Motives of King Ferdinand VII.'s Journey in April 1808."

⁸ It is wholly false that, in 1797, Escoïquiz had either spoken or written openly against me. All he did at that period was done clandestinely, with great caution, and by indirect means. After I had resigned, Charles IV. informed me that Escoïquiz had written and submitted to his Majesty's perusal a document or case, entitled "Note on the Interest of the State in the Choice of good Ministers."

The note was divided into two parts, and presented the contrast of two portraits placed in juxtaposition. The first, that of a
bad

Escoïquiz was ambitious and wicked, but he had little penetration, and likewise wanted tact; his very endeavours caused him to be mistrusted; he awoke the suspicion of august personages, and nevertheless thought that he had attained the summit of human grandeur, because Charles IV. accepted the dedication of his poem, entitled "The Conquest of Mexico." This favour, of which the King was never sparing, I had myself refused to grant him a twelvemonth before.⁹ Proud of

bad minister, clearly designated me under the most odious colours, though I was not actually named. The second, the perfect model of a great statesman, represented Escoïquiz himself—his name alone was wanting to it. He had also interspersed it with verses, after his own style. A dull and cold adulator of the supreme power, he inveighed against its ill-qualified servants, or rather against me. The public were not initiated in the mystery of those silly and perfidious insinuations which constitute the only patriotic zeal for which Escoïquiz takes credit in his book. He even ventures to say that his heroic sacrifices date from that epoch; a mere empty boast after the event! All that he then did or said was suggested by a fear of losing his place; he was indebted to me for it; he had been introduced under my auspices; he endeavoured to escape from a disgrace in which he feared to be involved.

⁹ In 1796 or 1797, Escoïquiz presented me with some cantos of his poem, and begged I would "do him the honour of allowing my name to be prefixed to the work, if I would excuse so much freedom." These are his very words. Some days afterwards I answered to him, that a man of his merit and known character ought not to confine himself to doing things for which he had to apologise; at the same time quoting to him these lines of Horace:—

. "nonum que prematur in annum
Membranis intus positis; delere licebit
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti."

This

the monarch's condescension, he became intoxicated with his good fortune, wished to raise himself still higher, and first found his way into the household. He succeeded in inspiring the young prince with a premature desire of being admitted into the cabinet council, in order that he might acquire practical instruction and prepare himself for holding power. This desire was represented to the King by the tutor as a happy suggestion originating with his pupil, and as the early fruit of virtues which gave great promises for the future.¹⁰

Charles IV. guessed the purpose of Escoïquiz. . . . After having on two or three other occasions caught this restless and dangerous priest in the fact, his Majesty removed him in a delicate manner, and appointed him a dignitary canon of the cathedral of Toledo.¹¹ The King always punished

This friendly advice very likely irritated his self-love, and was perhaps the cause of that implacable hatred which he bore against me. Time might have enlightened him on the merit of his poem. This poor composition was not even criticised; none took the trouble to speak of it; and I only know of one person, a French philologist, who has quoted a few lines of the "Conquest of Mexico:" this was M. Chalumeau de Verneuil, to whom Escoïquiz had taught the Spanish language, and who proved a grateful pupil.

¹⁰ Ferdinand, born on the 14th October 1784, was then only thirteen or fourteen years old.

¹¹ This separation had been determined on in the Council of Ministers. The Prince's age did not allow of secret state matters being discussed in his presence, especially in the then critical situation of Europe. Besides, Charles IV. had not forgotten the severe lesson he had received in his youth for
setting

leniently; he was even generous towards those who wearied his kindness.

setting up a similar pretension. He also was then Prince of Asturias, and could allege a better right than Ferdinand to obtain the favour he requested. He was no longer a child; still Charles III. was angry at the proposal. The son wishing to reply, the jealous old man forbade him to venture again into his presence. This lesson was ever present to the mind of Charles IV.

I do not pretend to determine the question whether this jealousy was politic or not. Kings generally think it necessary to restrain the rising ambition of the presumptive heir. For my part, I should rather approve of a Prince studying the art of reigning at a distance from the court; first in the pages of history, then in the provinces, and in foreign countries, and of his travelling without display; thus qualifying himself to govern at a future day the state of which he is as yet only the first subject.

On this point, however, each one may differ in opinion; but I am anxious to refute here a foul slander propagated by my enemies. It has been said that the Prince of Asturias did not obtain his admission into the Council, because I opposed it; that I designedly perverted his principles; that I affected to despise him; in short, that, through my influence, he became an object of aversion to his parents. I can take God to witness that those kind parents, imbued with the deepest sense of religion, neglected nothing that could tend to the happiness of this child whom they idolized; that they were lavish of their caresses to him; that, on the other hand, out of attachment to my august masters, out of regard for the interest of this young prince, whom I had so often taken up in my arms, for my own sake (here, at least, I ought to be believed,) as well as for my own future prospects, in short, for the good of the state, I carefully endeavoured to prevent any misunderstanding in the palace. Obscure malevolence endeavoured to sow discord, and attempted to lay the blame to my charge. It may, perhaps, be said that I was guilty of rashness, pride, and a foolish confidence, for remaining in so doubtful and dangerous a position. My answer is, that it was a continual sacrifice, pure devotedness,
passive

Being absent from court, I was seldom seen at the palace. I may safely aver that I was one of the last to hear of the fall of Escoïquiz. But he did not hesitate to attribute it to my secret influence. His chimerical projects had vanished into smoke; he began cordially to hate Charles IV. and Maria Louisa,—meditated their ruin, and embittered Ferdinand's mind; it was he who taught him to count his father's days; the young prince was wounded to the heart. Escoïquiz implanted dreadful hopes in the still festering wound, which he for eight years irritated with diabolical skill. The wretch saw afterwards his hopes realized; the crown of Spain fell dishonoured; the stranger came and raised it from the dust. But let us not anticipate events.

Dismissed from the court, Escoïquiz went to conceal himself in the retreat which was assigned to him. He lived at Toledo in obscurity; but kept up a regular correspondence with his pupil, either by writing or through trusty agents, whom he had designated as safe friends. "At all events," said he, "whether death overtakes Charles IV., or I should re-enter office, or in case of an attempt being made (which some people pretended to fear),

passive obedience. I shall state, day by day, what took place. It will be seen that the chain of fatality kept me bound to the foot of that throne so much coveted by others. Let the impartial reader consent to follow me to the end, and judge from a knowledge of facts;—this is all I request of him.

these faithful friends would be ready to devote themselves to save his Royal Highness."

Thus the intrigues of a priest kept the palace in a dark agitation. An angel of peace, a messenger from heaven, when he fulfils the duties of his ministry, the churchman is often a mere incarnate demon, under the garb of religion.

The infamous Escoïquiz poisoned the finest portion of the existence of the young prince: during the spring of life, which a good son passes in the midst of innocent joys, free from ambition and care for the future; the idea of ascending the throne does not occur to him; sports and studies, the fond caresses of his parents, engage all his thoughts. Ferdinand did not enjoy this happiness; instead of the lively and pure affections of his age, he felt nothing but fear and suspicion. The master seized upon all the moral faculties of his pupil, as an unclean insect sticking to the bud of a blooming rose, and binding it as with an indissoluble net, cramps its growth. Ferdinand, doomed at an early age to feel no affection for any one, was a prey to fear and dissimulation. His youth, his manhood, in short his whole life was passed in a state of uninterrupted suspicion; he believed not in virtue, not even in that of Escoïquiz; and at last the tutor received the due reward of the instructions he had imparted; he died loaded with contempt, ejected, banished by his pupil. . . . What other return could he

expect, when, under the garb of a venerable apostle, inspired by heaven, he had taught the son to doubt the affection of his own mother, and made him believe that he was detested by her; that his father, the best of mortals, shared in that absurd and unnatural hatred?

What could be, on the other hand, the character of the prince? From his most tender age, the time when impressions once received can never be obliterated, he had been told that he was abhorred by the authors of his existence; that they preferred a stranger to him, surrounded him with perfidious snares, and only sought to blight his prospects, and deprive him of his crown! What

¹² It is notorious, that from that period,—nine or ten years before the scenes of the Escorial and of Aranjuez,—a degree of coldness was perceptible on the part of the prince towards his parents; not that he already conceived a profound hatred for the authors of his existence, but rather because he had been taught to believe that he himself was detested and despised by them.

All those who then frequented the palace know how Charles IV. and Maria Louisa loved him in his childhood; although they already perceived the precocious and unnatural reserve of their beloved child. The enemies of his august parents, and the most zealous partisans of the Prince of Asturias, have not denied this fact. But the malignant Escoiquiz, ever faithful to that system of calumny which was the basis and lever of his intrigues, has had the audacity to assert the contrary. In his pretended conversation with Napoleon, he boasts of having said to the latter. “. . . . With respect to the Spanish nation, who idolize their young monarch, who await his return with so much impatience, they hope that your Majesty will be his support, and stand to him in lieu of a father and a mother,



an infamous suggestion ! What an infernal method of sowing discord between the presumptive heir

mother, in whom he never found any other feeling than that of an unjust and unnatural hatred," &c. (Appendix to the " Simple Idea, or a View of the Motives," &c. No. 3, Explanatory Documents.)

Let it not be supposed that Escoïquiz spoke thus in the absence and without the knowledge of his royal pupil ! In the same Appendix, he relates with satisfaction, that on a certain day, at Bayonne, in the presence of the King and of his brother Don Carlos, he (Escoïquiz) addressed a long harangue to Napoleon ; that repeating the above-mentioned reasons in a more explicit manner, he endeavoured to move Napoleon by the consideration of the noble sympathy which he must have felt on beholding these unfortunate princes so worthy of compassion ; " orphans indeed, since their parents, whom they always loved and revered, had become their most implacable enemies." (Appendix, p. 175.) If Escoïquiz said all this publicly, in the presence of foreigners, of enemies, and of his royal disciple himself, what would he have said or suggested when he freely and secretly communicated with him ? Nay, these pompous words were subsequently printed in Madrid, in 1814. The new King read them without being shocked, in a country where the press never was allowed to meddle with state affairs, much less with the conduct of the royal princes. This libel (" Simple Idea, or a View," &c.),—which, under so modest a title, was published, with approbation and by authority, without the King or Government opposing the least obstacle to it—was not the result of sudden enthusiasm or thoughtless indiscretion, it was frequently reprinted ; the parents of Ferdinand were still living ! The cruel pamphlet reached its destination with many others of the same kind ; they were sent to Rome, to those illustrious exiles who were reduced to borrow the means of existence, in their deplorable solitude in a foreign land.

Don Juan Escoïquiz enjoyed at that time, great favour at the court of his crowned pupil ; the latter stated in the same book that his excellent preceptor had always directed his mind towards love, confidence Yes, but for whom ?

for

and the King, an old and infirm man, to whom no other consolation remained than that of being loved by his family, and of beholding peace in his dominions!

How atrocious must have been the rancour of that priest, who for ten successive years hatched his criminal plots, too leniently punished by the generous Charles IV.!

Thus much for the Archdeacon. Charles IV. had conferred on the ungrateful wretch this honourable and lucrative dignity, instead of inflicting on him exemplary chastisement."

Don Joseph Antonio Cavallero was one of those students, so numerous in Spain, who took all their

for the Infant Don Carlos, the Infant Don Antonio. . . . Ferdinand also said that his tutor had constantly inspired him with the most tender affection for his brother, and the princes of his blood. (Page 13.) Escoiquiz wanted only one thing; and that was common sense. It is impossible to be more malignant, and at the same time more indiscreet and awkward, than he was.

¹³ Until February 1799, the Comte de Chinchon, first cousin to the King, was only a dignitary canon of the same church of Toledo (Archdeacon of Talavera). Escoiquiz, at once appointed Archdeacon of Alcaraz, was therefore on the high road to honours and fortune. What rapid progress might he not have made, in his ecclesiastical or any other career, had he been willing to follow the right path! He had of course as much right to be ambitious as any one else. But my feelings are revolted at the odious method he resorted to in order to attain his object; he formed the design of dethroning the King, his benefactor, with the view of prematurely substituting in his stead the young prince, whom he hoped to rule at his pleasure . . . and he plunged the state into an abyss of misery.

university degrees, without having had an opportunity, or even the least notion of opening a single book on history, literature, or philosophy ; having no other knowledge of legislation but such as they picked up in old commentaries on the Roman law, whose minds had been exercised only in the disputations of schoolmen, or the wily practices of pettifoggers. His figure was most ungainly, being corpulent, short, and crooked ; his face, pale and unmeaning.¹⁴ He had lost an eye, and in the remaining one there was an obliquity of vision. The inward man was the exact

¹⁴ Cavallero drank much wine even between meals ; I have often seen him in a state approaching to inebriety some time after his dinner. His second wife, whose maiden name was Rocha, of a good family of Estramadura, who was much younger than himself, and in the service of the queen, as maid of honour, endeavoured to her utmost to keep her beastly husband at home, lest he should be seen in that disgraceful state, especially when he was about to repair to the palace. For the Spanish ministers reside in their own dwellings ; they transact business in the offices which are in the palace where the king resides.

Drunkenness is a vice almost unknown in Spain among people of a respectable class, and very uncommon even among the lower orders. But Cavallero, although of distinguished birth, was entirely deficient in good-breeding. His tastes and manners were vulgar. He continued, however, in the ministry from 1799 to 1808, being entrusted all that time with the seals of the department of justice ; and occasionally, during the same period, with those, *ad interim*, of the navy and of war. But for the revolution of 1808, Cavallero would still have continued in favour with Charles IV. and Maria Louisa ; on this subject, the Prince of the Peace is silent ; I shall elsewhere revert to it.—E.

counterpart of the outward. Cavallero was admitted into the magistracy through the recommendation of an uncle, an old officer, who had served in the campaigns of Italy, and prided himself upon portraying the deportment and preserving the costume of the military men of that period, in the recollection of which Charles III. took great delight. He thought this old soldier might make a good minister of war; the illusion soon vanished.

Unfortunately for Spain, his nephew, of whom I am about to speak, an attorney (*fiscal togado*) to the council of war,¹⁵ finding his functions too harmless, sought power in another way. Cavallero, who was an ill-intentioned man, a ready tool of mischief, and an enemy to every virtue, never possessed a single spark of honour or generosity. The back door, at which he introduced himself, is never closed in palaces:—it lies open to spies and informers, the common pests in courts, whom all complain of, and yet all, even sovereigns themselves, encourage. For my part, I had blocked up the door. Nothing had penetrated through it

¹⁵ *Fiscal*: king's attorney. *Council of war*: an administrative and criminal tribunal. It is one of the five great councils of the kingdom of Spain; which are the council of Castile, or royal council; those of the finances; of the orders of knighthood; of the Indies and of war. The latter comprises within its jurisdiction whatever relates, not to military operation, discipline, or administration, but the civil rights of persons belonging to the army, whose highly-valued privilege consists in having no other judges (*fuero militar*).—E.

for years. Cavallero succeeded in opening a passage a short time before my retiring from the ministry. By seeming to be a rigid enforcer of good order, and to discountenance factions, by grossly exaggerating the perils which beset the Government, the innovations that might endanger it, the treachery of public servants, the restlessness of some, the unseasonable projects of others, and by pretending to perceive snares every where;—by such manœuvres, joined to great apparent zeal, a man may succeed in his plans: he may circumvent and morally fetter those whom the height and solitariness of power prevent from distinguishing objects. At that period, the French revolutionary doctrines, as is well known, kept kings in perpetual alarm. Cavallero understood how to avail himself of that circumstance. If he had not acquired a full ascendancy over the mind of Charles IV. he succeeded in inspiring him with doubt, and even with mistrust. This good king, although he was not wholly swayed by his advice, listened to him more than once, conceived a favourable idea of his moral character, looked upon him as a man indispensable to him, and allowed him free access to his presence: he was a watchful observer, who acquainted him with the least irregularity in the movement of the springs of government. Cavallero had no sooner gained the King's confidence, than he made a merit of opposing every kind of

improvement. Such a task suited his taste and character. My administration created a more powerful sensation, and threw out a stronger blaze, especially during its second period, when the King placed me at the head of his land and sea forces; but this power was far less than what I exercised from 1792 to 1798; then my colleagues and all the councillors of state avowed their concurrence in my views; there was nothing to disturb our harmony. We were then strong; whereas, in later years, I was thwarted whenever I attempted to effect any good. Cavallero did not attack me openly; on the contrary, he bowed and cringed, while he secretly opposed my improvements and plans of reform; in short, he was more than once successful in his opposition; I could never succeed altogether in overcoming him. It has been my misfortune to be made responsible by my enemies, for the good which he prevented and the harm which I could not prevent him from doing; they pretended to believe that I had full liberty to act.

There exists, however, a letter of the minister Cavallero, which was written, I believe, from Bordeaux to Don Juan Antonio Llorente, and has been recorded by the latter in his memoirs. This letter, which is in other respects full of falsehoods, contradictions, and abuse, states, "that he maintained a perpetual struggle, in which he displayed all the address and cunning that were compatible with probity; . . . not to mention," he adds, "all

the harm which he thereby averted, all the good he did, and all that he could not accomplish." He concludes by saying, "that their Majesties were well aware of the opposition he had to encounter."

Now, who can mention a single act of generosity or public usefulness that originated with Cavallero? He does not adduce an instance; I will supply his omissions.

His first exploit was to oust Jovellanos from the ministry to which I had called him. On the 24th August 1798, that is to say, in less than five months after my resignation, Jovellanos was banished. . . . Who replaced him? Cavallero!

Had I the least share in this disgrace, which was a prelude to the downfall of so many others who were indebted to me for their employments and means of subsistence? Undoubtedly not, as Cavallero himself takes care to own in his above-mentioned letter. He asserts that when a successor to Jovellanos was appointed, I had neither power nor influence.

Another of his exploits was to crush the faithful friend of Jovellanos, for whom I had obtained the appointment of Attorney-General to the Court of Alcaldes (Fiscal de la Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte).

The cunning and address which Cavallero boasts of having displayed, consisted this time in having given Melendez several commissions, in order to remove him from the Court; one of these commis-

sions was a wicked snare, intended to ruin him. Melendez's stoical virtue saved him; but Cavallero, satisfied with having already brought his character in question, appointed before-hand a substitute (Don Francisco Lopez Lisperguer), who soon took his place. Melendez was thus, through an abuse of authority, and without any cause or pretence, compelled to retire upon half-pay, (jubilado).

I shall not here enumerate all those whose patriotism and knowledge I had rewarded by appointments, in the various departments of the administration, the colleges, or the seminaries of nobles. Cavallero carried his system of turning out public servants to very great lengths, and did not even spare persons of the highest eminence. Previously to my retreat, I was desirous of seeing Don Gonsalo Offaril, then inspector general of infantry, appointed to the ministry of war. To prevent his attaining a station of which he was worthy, Cavallero hastily, and without necessity, had him appointed minister extraordinary to the court of Prussia. The office of inspector was provisionally given to another person. Don Juan de Langara, minister of marine, was dismissed from office. Cavallero caused the seals of this office to be united with those of the war department. My uncle, Don Juan Manuel Alvarez de Faria, an old general officer, whose services had been very meritorious, and who was the minister of the last

mentioned department, met with so many disappointments, that I myself advised him to resign in September 1799.¹⁶

Don Miguel Asanza, viceroy of New Spain, who discharged most honourably the functions of that high office, was compelled by Cavallero to give in his resignation.

The minister Saavedra, though he was not considered as one of my partizans, was subjected to every kind of mortification.

His successor for a time was Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, who owed his preferment to patronage far beyond the reach of Cavallero's influence. However, the latter, by associating himself with others, succeeded in crushing Urquijo.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the events which marked my absence and the power of Cavallero, who had become omnipotent at court. His malevolence did not confine itself to opposing me, and persecuting my friends. Being unable to comprehend that beyond the very limited range of his ordinary studies, there might be learning and talents which should be turned to account; he was an avowed enemy to every kind of im-

¹⁶ Charles IV. gave him a public testimonial of approbation for his long and meritorious services. The Golden Fleece was conferred upon him, as well as an influential appointment in the council, with a stipend and all emoluments, &c. attached to such an office (Casa de Apposento), and an exemption from paying the first fruits, were conferred upon him (decree of September 4, 1799).

provement. Nearly all my plans and arrangements for perfecting the system of public instruction, though bearing the impress of prudence, and only requiring, for their being carried into effect, the formality of the sanction of the Council of Castile, were frustrated by this wicked man. If any were persevered in, it was only, as was afterwards apparent, with a view to persecute and stigmatize the authors of them. Many persons of merit atoned, by the loss of favour, for a superiority which gave umbrage.

Far more wicked than devout, he employed the clergy as tools for the purpose of impeding the progress of science and literature. As far as in him lay, he removed all those who, under my ministry, had held the highest dignities in the church, and employed none but ignorant and decrepit nonentities. Would to God he had done no worse! But he unmuzzled the Inquisition, which I had had so much difficulty in keeping within due bounds. In order more effectually to wield this terrible engine without the King's seeming to have abdicated his prerogative in favour of the Holy Office, Cavallero managed in some way to amalgamate the civil with the ecclesiastical power. Charles IV. too readily believed that the altar and throne thus united would more easily repel the attacks of their enemies, who were, he was told, powerful in numbers. Had

¹⁷ I will enlarge upon this subject elsewhere.



the reign of Cavallero lasted longer, the church itself, the tribunals, and all the learned bodies engaged in the business of education, would have been *purified*: Spain, moulded by Cavallero, would have gone back a whole century.

This man has done infinite mischief to his country: I occasionally succeeded in preventing his doing all the harm he wished, when I again obtained access to the King; but some evils were beyond the reach of remedy.

Escoïquiz secretly, Cavallero more openly, laboured to form and increase that powerful party which, after having subverted the throne of Charles IV., rivetted the chains of Spain, and tyrannized over her for so long a period.



CHAPTER XLIX.

**Policy of the Spanish Government after my Resignation.—
Fresh attempts on the part of England and other Powers to
draw us into the Second Coalition.—Probabilities of Success.
—My Successors, instead of modifying the System, maintain
it and carry it still further.**

**If the conduct of the Spanish Cabinet, after the
peace of Bâle, and our alliance with the Republic,
required to be more fully justified, I would
only refer to the religious fidelity with which my
successors followed the system of policy which I
had deemed it my duty to adopt. Indeed, the
peace and alliance were maintained, contrary to
the suggestions and repeated efforts of the cabinet
of St. James's, and of several other powers, who
had entered into a new coalition against France,
in 1798 and 1799.**

**Had I committed an error? Had the whole
Council, in conjunction with me, taken a wrong
course by assenting to both treaties? Nothing
would have been easier than to retrace our steps.
A reviving coalition threatened the directorial go-
vernment. Let us consider the situation of Europe.**

**Naples, Piedmont, Austria, a part of the Em-
pire, England, Russia, and even Turkey, formed a
powerful league.**

The General who, in the course of a few months, had conquered Italy, was then in Egypt.

The Executive Directory reigned only by the terror of the bayonet. The disaffected were numerous.

The king of the Two Sicilies gives the signal, and Rome is entered by Ferdinand IV. at the head of 60,000 men. The Austrian General Mack, renowned for his military skill, has pledged himself to conquer.

In Piedmont, Charles Emmanuel was preparing for fresh campaigns.¹

40,000 Russians, 60,000 Austrians invade Italy. The conqueror of Ismailow, the famous and savage Souvaroff, commands that multitude of soldiers, and is opposed only by 20,000 French, scattered here and there, and in need of every thing.

The nations of Italy rise in a body against the Republicans.

30,000 Russians of the grand reserve arrive from Galicia; Korsakoff is at their head: the Condé emigrants proceed to join him. Hotze, with 30,000 Austrians, protects the march of Korsakoff. The Archduke Charles leads a force of more than

¹ A proclamation of the Sicilian Government contained these menacing expressions: "The Neapolitans are marching to victory under General Mack; the tocsin is about to ring from the summit of the capitol. Death to the common enemy! We proclaim to Europe that now is the hour of rising. Unfortunate Piedmontese! shake off your chains, and with them smite your oppressors!"

100,000 men ; another considerable body is preparing to reinforce Souvaroff or the Archduke, in case of need.

An Anglo-Russian army, composed of 30,000 Muscovites and 15,000 English, invades Holland and threatens Belgium.

The Neapolitans are backed by a dense multitude of auxiliaries, Sicilians, Russians, Germans, Tuscans, Portuguese, Poles, and Turks. The standard of the Cross, the Eagles of the North, the Portuguese Quines, the Ottoman Crescent, the banner of the Holy Virgin, all wave promiscuously. Nelson, the conqueror of Aboukir, occupies the Bay of Naples. He embrues his hands in blood.

Calabria and Apulia also rise; the celebrated Cardinal Ruffo, vicar of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the dreaded Fra Diavolo pursue their triumphs. The Republicans of Parthenope are cut to pieces.

Genoa is in fermentation ; the English blockade the harbour ; Klenau blockades the town from the land side.

Admiral Keith keeps the French and Spanish squadrons blocked up in the roads of Brest.

Only a twelvemonth before, the French were masters of the whole of Italy ; Souvaroff drove them away in less time than Buonaparte had taken to conquer it.

The defeats of Pasturana and of Novi lay open to

Souvaroff the frontiers of France, whose weakened and repulsed battalions can hardly defend the rocks of the Apennines and of the Alps.

The victorious shouts of the Russians rouse Switzerland. Souvaroff obtains another triumph; the Helvetic barrier can no longer protect France.

At this critical emergency, Spain is assailed at once with threats and promises. England offers her subsidies; Portugal her troops, with Russian auxiliaries to cross the Pyrenees. Spain persists in her amity with France. The landing of an army of English, Muscovites, and Portuguese, in order to force her to join the coalition, was a likely event.

Spain remains deaf to all proposals; despises all menaces, and the autocrat Paul I. declares war against her; she remains unshaken, and faithful to her treaties of peace and alliance with the French Republic.

Who was then minister in Spain?—Saavedra! Saavedra: the same who, ten years afterwards, being minister of the Central Junta (in 1808), signed the manifesto in which I was charged with having been the cause, the main-spring of all the evils which afflicted Spain, by signing the peace of Bâle, and the treaty of alliance with the French!

What prevented Saavedra, his colleagues, and the council of state from breaking this alliance, from waging war against the Republic, on the point of

sinking under the overwhelming number of her enemies? On quitting the ministry, I had left ninety or a hundred thousand men ready to take the field, exclusive of militia; and England offered money!

What, I say, prevented Saavedra from altering his system of policy towards France? The same reasons which had actuated me, when I was at the head of the cabinet . . . Assuredly not my personal influence; no one will dare to say so. I had withdrawn from public business; my enemies were exulting at court; they directed the Government. France herself had contributed, by her solicitations, to remove me from the ministry. The Directory had declared against me: no one, therefore, consulted my opinion; and if I had been consulted, I would have undoubtedly approved the opinion of those who would not break the treaty of alliance with the Republic. . . . They soon found it was the wisest course.

After a first check, the Moscovite hero gave up the contest, execrating the Austrians, the coalition, and that unfortunate war in which his glory had lost all its former lustre.

Souvaroff was compelled to abandon Germany and Italy; Buonaparte returned from Egypt; the conflagration was rekindled; gigantic battles were fought, which secured new triumphs to the Republic; the whole continent sued for peace. The Queen of Naples, who had been the firebrand of



discord, looked to Russia for support and mediation with the new French chief.² Paul I., in whom so many princes had placed their hopes, being dissatisfied with Austria and the English, became the friend of Napoleon! The fruits of this coalition were reaped by France only; she

² In June 1796, the mediation of the cabinet of Madrid had averted the storm which threatened the reigning dynasty of Naples. An armistice, obtained with difficulty, was signed by General Buonaparte and Prince Belmonte Pignatelli. The consequence was an honourable peace between the two governments, which cost no sacrifices; thanks to the intervention of our cabinet. Queen Caroline was then sending her portrait, set with diamonds, to the conqueror of Italy; at the foot of which were read these words: "*à l'Amitié, à la Reconnaissance!*"

In 1801, less confident of obtaining the same result through the good offices of Spain, Queen Caroline presumed that, as the First Consul endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of the Czar, she might once more save her kingdom through the mediation of Paul I. She embarked at Palermo in the severest weather, and proceeded direct to St. Petersburg. This long peregrination was not without its utility. Paul dispatched to France his great equerry, who carried on the negotiation. Many have said, and it is not incredible, that it was Napoleon who, either in person or by means of his confidential emissaries, had pointed out this indirect course to Queen Caroline. The fact is, that the Russian great equerry was extremely well received both in Paris and at Naples. The armistice of Foligno, and afterwards the peace of Florence (March 28, 1801), were the consequences of this diplomatic pilgrimage. The second treaty was not, however, so advantageous as the previous one of the 10th October 1796. The king of Naples was forced to renounce all his possessions in Elba, in the presidencies of Tuscany, and in the principality of Piombino; binding himself, moreover, to close all his ports against England, and to receive, under various pretences, French garrisons in several parts of his dominions.

aggrandized her dominions, and found herself much better off than after her former struggle. The latter had been of shorter duration.

I have praised the foresight of the ministers who averted from us an useless war, and the calamities with which Europe was incessantly scourged until the peace of Luneville; but I cannot understand the error which my successors soon after committed. Far from profiting by the example which I had set them, they were too obsequious towards France, and flattered her at the expense of other cabinets friendly to Spain. We had no right to take upon ourselves the office of censors. The government of one essentially differs from the government of many; for it must be more cautious, and should be more circumspect in its words and actions. This dignified reserve on the part of a monarchical government, was requisite to allay the pretensions of the French Republic. When we renounced the coalition, we had just motives for so doing; we were free; but those who were still engaged in the struggle not having acted offensively towards us, we could not assume a hostile posture against them. They were our ancient friends and allies; they had a claim to our sympathy, our good wishes, at least as long as they gave us no reason of complaint. The treaty I had signed with France was lying before them. With how much care had I not contrived that our good understanding with the Republic

should not lead to a rupture with the powers which still carried on the war.

After I quitted the ministry, this line of conduct was not persevered in; my successors went much further than I had done. The political and monarchical dignity of Spain was often wantonly compromised during those three years, from 1798 to 1801. I will only quote a single instance. Paul I. declared war against us because we were on friendly terms with France; he published a manifesto in every respect worthy of that crowned Don Quixote, and distinguished by the improper and bombastic tone which he assumed towards H.C.M. This is the literal preamble of Charles IV.'s answer:—

“ The scrupulous fidelity with which I have endeavoured, and will endeavour to maintain the alliance I have contracted with the Republic, and the ties of friendship and good understanding which unite the two countries, and are cemented by the evident analogy of their mutual interests, have excited the jealousy of certain powers, particularly since a new coalition has been formed, whose real object, under the chimerical appearance of restoring order, is, in fact, to introduce disorder, by treating despotically the nations that do not concur in their ambitious views. Among these powers, Russia has made herself conspicuous. Her Emperor, not satisfied with arrogating to himself titles which in no wise belong to him,

and manifesting thereby his own selfish views, probably because he did not experience on my part so much condescension as he expected, has just emitted a declaration of war, the mere publication of which is sufficient to expose its obvious injustice," &c.

This preamble, in which language and politics are equally disregarded, is levelled at all the belligerent powers. It is not enough for the Spanish Government to stand forth as the friend of the Republic; it attacks all other governments, including those who still kept up friendly relations with us. Was this a proper and laudable policy? The French Directory could not have used more offensive language.

All who read those long and taunting phrases, saw nothing in them but a desire to pay a base compliment to the Republic. And after they were uttered, it was said of me, that I had dishonoured Spain!—that I had submitted her to the French dictatorship! Gracious heavens! when I retired from public life, to seek repose in a private station, I at least left the national honour unsullied, and Spain beloved and respected by the whole continent.

And my enemies—I can never cease repeating it—have dared to impute to me the faults, errors, and blunders of three successive years, during which, being a complete stranger to both the internal and external administration, I was exposed to the attacks even of France and of England.

because I had allowed neither to impose upon us her domineering pretensions! It has already been seen within what narrow limits I had succeeded in confining the former of these powers as long as I held office. I here adduce other facts, which may serve as additional grounds of comparison.

After the peace of Bâle, the arrival of the first ambassador of H. C. M. in Paris was enthusiastically hailed. It would not have been surprising, nor even censurable, if the inaugural speech of the Marquis Del Campo had been rather laudatory, under these circumstances, when the ancient alliance between the two nations was about to be re-established. Yet this harangue, previously composed in my cabinet, is confined to three or four phrases, remarkable for circumspection :—

“ The happy restoration of peace between the King, my master, and the French Republic, is an event of the highest importance to both nations. His Majesty, actuated by an ardent desire to maintain that peace for the benefit of his people, will take the utmost care to avoid any thing which might endanger it. On appointing me his ambassador to the Republic, the King ordered me to repair as soon as possible to my new destination. It is a pledge of his good faith and his earnestness. Honoured with the confidence of my Sovereign, I obey his orders with a respectful zeal. I shall be too happy if, in fulfilling the

noble intentions of his Majesty, I secure the good will of the Government I have the honour to address."

The speech contained neither more nor less, as may be seen in the public newspapers of Paris and Madrid. The presentation took place on the 31st of March 1796.

Let us now refer to the speech of the new ambassador who succeeded the Marquis Del Campo, June 29th, 1798. (Saavedra was then minister.)⁹

"Citizens Directors :—Appearing for the first time before you as the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, I shall not repeat what is well known to you—what is notorious. It were useless to remind you that the King, my master, is your first ally—is the most loyal, the most useful friend of the French Republic ; for if alliances and good faith be founded on relative interests, never were two nations more intimately united than France and Spain ; there is no dispute between us on the subject of territory ; our common friends and enemies are common to both ; the ruin of Spanish commerce would, sooner or later, entail ruin upon French commerce. The moral character of the Sovereign I have the honour to represent is a guarantee for the punctuality with which he will fulfil his engagements ; his probity will be the pledge of a frank, loyal, and open friendship. The nation

⁹ Don Joseph Nicholas de Azara, of whom mention will be made in the course of these memoirs.

whom he governs is known for its nice sense of honour: it is your friend, and has been so without rivalry for a whole century; the changes which have taken place in your Government, instead of weakening that union, can only tend to add daily to its strength, for our common interests and our very existence are dependent upon it.* I have been an eye-witness to the exploits of the French in Italy, and I now come to admire more closely the wisdom by which they were directed. Having been so fortunate as to be elected to fulfil this mission, I shall be instrumental to a more intimate intercourse between the two nations; and if my conduct has

* It is difficult to believe that such a speech was ever uttered by the representative of a monarch, the next of kin to the French dynasty, dethroned and put to death, were not this strange document recorded in the Paris journals, had not our official Gazette reprinted it. It excited the indignation of the monarchs of Europe. Those phrases were freely, spontaneously uttered; they could not even be excused on the plea of fear. Spain was condemned to read them in her official journals, from which it even appeared that we were proud of having used this degrading language. How many worthy Spaniards hastened to my residence to express their grief at reading it, and to remind me of the time when I directed the cabinet! Nevertheless, the minister Saavedra, who subsequently held an eminent station in the Central Junta (1808), dares to call me an *infamous traitor*,* for having assented to a treaty of alliance with the French Republic against England. "This alliance," says the manifesto before-mentioned, which Saavedra signed as well as others, "was the first origin or cause of all the evils which afflicted Europe! . . . *O pectora cæca!*"

* Manifesto of the Junta.

occasionally merited the approbation of the Directory in critical emergencies, I hope that my character will never belie itself," &c.

This speech gives rise to many reflections : 1st. The minister who succeeded me, and whose patriotism was afterwards so loudly proclaimed, knit much more closely than he ought to have done, more than was necessary, the bonds of the alliance which had been entered into with the French Republic, under my administration ; but which was negotiated with a noble dignity, and without the least particle of cringing adulation. By this harangue, solemnly spoken in the face of France and of Europe, the minister Saavedra endeavoured to meet the complaints which the Directorial Government had preferred some time previously, because they had found me little disposed to yield to their demands. 2d. This political creed, or sentimental declaration, whatever it may be called, was addressed in the name of the august Sovereign of Spain and the Indies. His Majesty was made to say that the changes which had occurred in France, instead of weakening our union with it, could but daily cement it more closely. Whether this declaration was a mere act of courtesy on the part of our Government, or was enjoined by the Directory, it was no less degrading to the King of Spain in the eyes of the other sovereigns of Europe. The Directory required it ; Saavedra had not the courage to

resist : his weakness is proved by the answer given to the ambassador Azara's speech.⁵

"Sir," said the President of the Directory, "when mutual esteem conciliate two neighbouring nations that are equally brave and generous, it is a pleasing task for their governments to draw closer the bonds which unite them. Be pleased, Sir, to assure his Majesty the King of Spain, that in return for the sentiments he has manifested towards the Directory of the French Republic, his Majesty will always find them faithful to their engagements, and eager to promote the prosperity of the Spanish nation as well as the personal happiness of his Majesty. As for you, Sir, the regard you have shown for the French on trying occasions, has endeared you to the numerous friends of humanity: it is with a lively satisfaction that the Directory avail themselves of the present opportunity to express to you their gratitude in a solemn manner, and in the name of the Republic."⁶

⁵ Don Joseph Nicolas Azara.

⁶ Any one doubting the accuracy of the French journals which give a report of this speech with affected exultation, may be referred to the Gazette of Madrid of the 22d June 1798. Don Francisco Saavedra did not conform to the rule which I had imposed upon myself, and to which I had scrupulously adhered as long as I was a minister, of submitting matters of consequence to the cabinet or state council. Don Juan de Langara, secretary of state of the marine department, and my uncle, Don Juan Manuel Alvarez, who was intrusted with the war department, have both assured me that they were apprized of this diplomatic ignominy through the Gazette. Jovellanos was then a minister, and the intimate friend of Saavedra. Was he better

These unworthy methods of cementing our alliance with France being once adopted, the policy of Saavedra and of his substitute and successor, Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, were a servile continuation of that course of conduct.* One false step brings on another. From that moment the Republic had only to express its wish. Fortunately the Directory disdained to take advantage of the facility of our obsequious and complying cabinet.† Buonaparte soon appeared, and was received with open arms.

better informed? This point I have not ascertained, and will give him the benefit of the doubt. But what I do know is, that the same Jovellanos, whom I so cordially raised to the ministry, and recalled from banishment, having become, as well as Saavedra, a member of the Central Junta of Spain in 1808, signed jointly with him, the manifesto in which the epithet *infamous* is applied to me, which I never can forgive, because I had (not of my own will, but with the unanimous approbation of the council of state) concluded a treaty of alliance with France. That alliance was, during their short ministry, renewed and strengthened with inexcusable meanness. It is very painful to me to have to repeat these charges; but a just resentment is my apology. These facts can never be too often brought forward.

⁷ Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, first clerk in the department of foreign affairs (ministry of state), appointed to take the place of Saavedra during his illness, the 17th August 1798. Saavedra's health having improved for a short time, Urquijo was on the eve of setting out as ambassador from his Majesty to the Republic of Holland; but the minister again fell ill; Urquijo discharged his provisional duties until February 1799. Then only was he appointed minister, *ad interim*. Saavedra definitively left the cabinet.

⁸ In order to judge of the subordination or servility of these two ministers, in their dealings with the Republic, we need only glance at the French journals of that period; our official Gazette agrees

Many of those who then exercised sway considered his arrival as the end of all calamities. He

agrees with them in commending the union of the two cabinets. See a passage of the *Moniteur* of the 21 Vendemiaire an VIII. (13 October 1799). "The Spanish squadron was at Brest; the commander in-chief, Don Joseph Mazarredo, furnished with the most ample powers, was authorized to take measures in concert with the French Government, and to dispose of the squadron. Such extensive powers were never before intrusted to an admiral." Mazarredo united with the military command all the powers of a plenipotentiary and extraordinary ambassador.

In reality, the Directory showed moderation. They might have availed themselves of this extraordinary act of condescension. The united squadron was only employed for objects mutually useful to the two countries. The Directory was less delicate upon other points which affected the generous character and the dignity of a free nation.

There were in Spain a great number of French refugees, who were generally inoffensive. I had protected them against the unjust persecutions of the Directory. Urquijo consented to their expulsion on the first demand of the Republican government. He went farther, the sacred right of asylum, and of a free passage, a slight temporary favour always readily conceded to political exiles by magnanimous monarchs and independent governments, was violated in Spain to please the Directory. The giving up of many of these unfortunate men will not be easily credited; it was, however, ordered. We here subjoin an official note of Urquijo, addressed to the ambassador of the Republic, 4th September 1799, textually copied into the *Moniteur* of the 3d Vendemiaire an 8:—

"Citizen ambassador:—In replying, on the 2d instant, to your letter dated the preceding day, I had the honour to inform you of the rigorous measures taken by his Majesty, as soon as he was informed that some of the rebels who disturbed the tranquillity of the Republic in the southern departments of France, had introduced themselves into Spain, in the direction of Arragon. Conformably to the above-mentioned declaration, they are all to be delivered to the nearest French authorities, in
order

overturned the Directory, restrained Jacobinism, and offered peace to the world ! How readily all indulged the hope of a happier futurity ! How welcome was this man, who became the universal and irresponsible heir of the power and ambition of the Republic !

I had left our army on a respectable footing ; it was more than ever needed to repel the threatened attacks of England, and especially to insure respect to our alliance. We disdained to be the humble servants of a neighbouring state ; but were determined to be a free, independent, self-controlling power. Well : this army, for I must state the fact, was reduced to half its effective numbers, ill clothed, ill paid, in consequence of miscalculations and wrong financial measures. Fortunately there remained some flying or detached camps which I had established along the coasts. A handful of brave men defended Ferrol, when attacked by superior forces. The English being repelled at Dofinos, were compelled to re-embark. What might not have happened if, being less engaged in Egypt, and on their own shores, they had not relaxed in their attempts against us ?

order to suffer the penalty they have merited." Urquijo proceeds in the same strain :—"The King's government, out of pure zeal, has issued orders to the chiefs of certain frontier provinces. You will perceive, in the exercise of these means, the constant aim and care of his Majesty, who wishes to promote to the utmost the welfare of the French Republic, and the stability of its government."



With regard to France, we felt secure in the faith of treaties ; it was not to be supposed that the new chief would either take unfair advantage of, or violate existing engagements.

The dangers and misfortunes with which the future was pregnant, were unforeseen by the statesmen of that period.



CHAPTER L.

Finances and Public Credit, from 1798 to 1801.

It is in the highest degree unjust and absurd to impute to me the calamities which, amidst the general conflagration of Europe, fell to the share of Spain, in consequence of oversights and errors committed without my co-operation, or my having the power to prevent them.

It has been generally said and believed that during that period, I continued at the helm, and that no opinion, no will but mine prevailed ; that, in short, I was answerable for every thing, in consequence of having exclusively possessed the confidence of King Charles IV.

I avow that, from 1792 to 1798, my power was great, so much the greater, as all my colleagues, and all the other councillors of his Majesty were willing to act in concert with me, and there was uniformity of will. This perfect unanimity was attended with as favourable results as circumstances permitted.

But does not the line of policy adopted by my successors from the beginning of 1798, which was in many respects contrary to that which I had followed, or expressed an intention of adopting,

prove, beyond a doubt, that I had no longer any share in the administration?

Recalled in 1801, and becoming again connected with the Government, without, however, taking a seat in the cabinet, my power once more appeared boundless, but it was in reality precarious, indirect, and thwarted in every quarter. The responsibility ought not, therefore, to rest upon me alone. This truth shall be made manifest by numberless proofs in the second part of my reminiscences.

Let us first take a short review of the three years during which it is a matter of notoriety that I had nothing whatever to do with the management of public affairs.

The disordered state of our finances from 1798 to 1801, can in no manner be ascribed to me. Far from my having, either directly or indirectly, contributed to it, every thing was done in opposition to the principles I had laid down, and in contempt of the rules I had established and maintained during the six preceding years.

I will not censure the intentions of the minister Saavedra, nor even those of the men who, after him, wished to realize his projects and his system of economy. No one ever doubted the disinterestedness and purity of intention of his colleagues or his successors.

I am, however, justified in censuring some fatal theories, the application of which plunged us into

an abyss, either through want of experience, or because regard was not had to the national spirit, manners, and prejudices, in which it was impossible to introduce a too sudden change.

Precipitation, a rash and misplaced confidence, and the still-increasing embarrassments of the period, overturned the resources of the state. This disorder still continued, when, in 1801, I was again doomed to undertake fresh duties, which I found it impossible to escape.

When I was prime minister, in 1792, the financial department was not strictly within my province ; but I was president of the cabinet. Thanks to the excellent spirit which animated my colleagues, and to the happy conformity of our views, there were no false measures, nor any misunderstanding between us ; progressive improvements were effected, though by slow degrees. Thus, the motion of the hand which points out the hours is unperceived, whilst going its round.

These were the objects at which we aimed, and which we partly accomplished : not to aggravate the general distress by the imposition of new taxes ; to draw as little as possible from the capital embarked in trade, whereon depends the labour which procures to the poor man his subsistence ; to favour agriculture, which is the basis of the existence of all ; to encourage the useful arts, and even those that administer to luxury ; and to open wider and safer channels to commerce.

These were, in our opinion, the solid means of increasing the revenues of the state, and diminishing the public debt. Until then, judicious loans, proportioned to our resources, had extricated us from our difficulties. We had maintained war against France, and did not shrink from that which England had just declared against us.

At the same time we had it in contemplation to strengthen the public credit by other mortgages, and other assignments of the funds especially appropriated to the payment of the old and new debts, without neglecting the sinking fund. After having, to the best of our power, met these engagements, and repressed, or, at least, restrained speculation, we had improved the revenue, and were not in the least alarmed at the fluctuations in the rise and fall of the currency, which were occasioned by the chances of war. No one had reason to complain. All the engagements of the public treasury were faithfully discharged.

In order to secure the public credit, men of the most eminent talent, and our best economists, were incessantly at work, and submitting their views and projects to the examination of the council of Castile. The practical knowledge of the council of finances, and of the state council, were also put in requisition. When I left the ministry, it was agreed and determined that a sufficient sum should be set apart for the liquidation of the royal vales, by substituting in their stead a less burdensome debt at

a lower rate of interest, without oppressing any class. On the contrary, all were to find their advantage in it, and the public wealth was to be greatly benefited by this measure.

The plan consisted in the sale of every kind of property belonging to foundations or pious donations, patronages, lay impropriations, and other establishments of the same kind. The proceeds deposited in the sinking fund were to pay off the annual interest of three per cent. of the value of the property sold. This measure, for the due execution of which we relied on the discernment of the council of Castile, besides its immediate object of diminishing the public debt, was intended to take away a large proportion of landed property from negligent and short-sighted usufructuaries, who, not being themselves able or willing to cultivate or improve the land, let it to farmers who had only a transitory interest in the property. To bring it into the market, divided into lots which were within the reach of purchasers of the slenderest means, was to create a crowd of real proprietors, and consequently to increase the produce or the common mass of wealth.

The titular possessors of estates, scarcely productive in their own hands, gained thereby the secure enjoyment of a clear interest of three per cent. A still greater advantage accrued to the country. The interest of three per cent., substituted for that of the vales, already produced a

material decrease, and the public debt would have been liquidated by degrees, either by means of the sinking fund, or with the proceeds of the property withdrawn from mortmain.

This extensive operation, while it gently diminished the burdens of the treasury, was attended with another advantage, the putting a stop to stock-jobbing, an evil which is no less pernicious to morality than to public credit.

I was, however, of opinion, that the sales for account of the state should be limited to the sum absolutely requisite for the liquidation of the royal vales, so as to exempt the treasury from new issues, which are always burdensome. I deemed this restriction a proper one, on the following grounds: 1st, In order to check the increase of the new debt, so long as a contrary course was not imperatively called for by circumstances; 2d, To preserve hospitals, infirmaries, charitable institutions, &c. from all risk, seeing that in the event of the situation of Europe becoming more critical, and of the difficulties of the state being further aggravated, the non-payment of the three per cent., and, perhaps, the consequent insolvency of the treasury, would endanger the existence of these establishments, the last resource of the unfortunate.

I was not the only one of that opinion, and I gave it in writing.¹ Another measure was proposed for

¹ General Rule.—All property should be alienable, with the exception of that which is necessarily set apart for the main-

liquidating the royal vales, putting a stop to stock-jobbing, and bringing a great mass of wealth into circulation. This plan consisted in allowing the alienation of civil entails, the proceeds of which were to be deposited in the sinking fund, subject to the charge of three per cent., to be paid to the titular possessors of the entails disposed of.

tenance of the church and charitable institutions, and that which belongs to the high nobility. The power of alienating property was always, in my opinion, a condition in the absence of which our country could never emerge from the state of misery in which the major part of the population has languished for so long a time.

I am, however, of opinion, that the state would lose nothing by securing, inalienably, certain portions of land to useful establishments. Such a course would be both advantageous to us and honourable. Now, as the least fluctuating revenue is that which arises from landed property, the existence of those establishments should be secured, on this imperishable basis, by the grant of lands, houses, &c. But a restoring government ought to restrict the accumulation of inalienable property; without this precaution, there will soon be a monopoly of landed property, which will only tend to foster foolish prejudices and idleness, the parent of all vices. In such cases the government has a right to act peremptorily whenever the treasury is in difficulties. . . . Such was our situation during the period of my ministry; we tried gentle remedies. . . . I write for the public. . . . If any one were to reproach me with partiality towards the high nobility, I would answer, that in all governments, even in republics, some benefit has been derived from a class of patricians or of families connected with historical associations, the existence of which class, if properly constituted, proves a safeguard to a state, and serves as an embankment to restrain by turns the popular waves and inordinate ambition. As for monarchies, a body of nobles is essential to them; without such support they degenerate into a spurious democracy, void of energy and virtue, which soon falls a prey to despotism. Instances of this may be found in ancient and modern history.



It did not appear to me that this measure would be so productive as some people affirmed. Besides, I should have opposed it even on this ground alone, that it would have been improper to expose the possessors of entails to the necessity of alienating their property, and thus render their future existence contingent on the chances of the public debt.

A third plan was proposed, which was intended to consolidate the vales by a system of progressive redemption. The guarantee offered for the liquidation of the public debt was to be the property of the clergy, which body would have its exclusive control and management.

That was a good idea, as it secured a high value to public stock, the revenue of the clergy, independently of the voluntary gifts of the faithful, amounting to double, almost treble, the revenues of the state.

Many ecclesiastics relished this plan, either from a patriotic feeling, or a wish to be exempted from the frequent subsidies demanded of the church, and especially to prevent the sale of those superfluous estates which it was proposed to apply to the relief of the treasury.

Others saw with pleasure, in this shifting mode of proceeding, the means of securing to the regular and secular clergy a control over the administration.

But this project would, in reality, have been attended with serious disadvantages. 1st. It was

to be feared that, morally speaking, the burden would be too heavy. Was the clergy possessed of sufficient discernment and talent, or of sufficiently uniform and fixed principles, for carrying through so complicated, so extensive an operation? 2d. Fortune, or rather the existence of the state being committed to the clergy, would not this body be tempted to enslave the Government to its will in regard to the management of internal and foreign affairs?

I had a favourable opinion of the plan, provided the King had a right of interposing and superintending it, not with a view to his exercising an absolute control, but for the purpose of preventing his giving up the reins into other hands, and being led blind-fold.² In the discussion of these several plans,

² This project was very favourably received in 1799, but failed on account of the exorbitant demands of the clergy; not, as Don Juan Antonio Llorente inconsiderately affirms, through the intrigues and manœuvres of the five great commercial companies (*Cinco Gremios Mayores*). Among the conditions demanded by the Ecclesiastical Junta that was deputed to treat of the matter, one was, that the decimal rents in kind on that part of the tithe which went to the King should be wholly disposed of. Circumstances by no means warranted the treasury in surrendering that branch of the public revenue. We had just been engaged in the unseasonable and rash attempt to form a discounting bank. The circulating medium was gradually and irrecoverably disappearing, and there remained only paper money, while specie was wanted for providing, at a reasonable price, the requisites supplies for the army and navy. The decimal rents were the best resource of the treasury to meet the exigency. This was the motive of the rejection of the proposed plan. We should in vain ascribe it to any other cause.

one consideration was of paramount importance in the opinion of Saavedra, who, in order to repress the speculation in the royal vales, was not only desirous of punctually paying off the interest and of extinguishing that stock, but wished to have an office always open for discounting it, on the application of those who were really in want of specie.

Saavedra was not deficient in talent. Yet he did not perceive the danger of assimilating a sinking fund to an ordinary bank, without having stock, or a sufficient quantity of cash to meet all demands. This minister thought that by promising to pay, and by acting at once up to his promise, all distrust would be allayed; and the vales would immediately acquire the same value in ordinary transactions as they possessed when presented at the office, where they were to be discounted by Government. Such was his opinion, notwithstanding the difficulties of a maritime war, which was particularly burdensome to the commercial class. This class necessarily included many persons desirous of being reimbursed; not to mention the incurable mistrust of others, the avidity of speculators, panics, the chances of war, and, in short, the pernicious influence of the agents and partizans of England on the value of our public funds.

I have already dwelt elsewhere on these matters; but it is proper to revert to them in this place, in order that my readers may compare the period when I was minister with that when my

successors adopted a different and even a contrary line of policy.

I subjoin a summary of their financial operations. The first measure, which was an appeal to national patriotism, was adopted a few days previously to my resignation, in consequence of the continual expenses of the war, and other pressing necessities. Two subscriptions were open in Spain and America. The first was for a voluntary gift in hard cash, or in gold and silver articles; the second for a loan without interest, voluntary likewise, and to be reimbursed by the state in ten instalments, each of them payable annually, commencing from the second year after the conclusion of the peace. Such was the object of the royal ordinance of the 17th June 1798. This official document expressed, according to custom, the monarch's desire not to impose new taxes upon his people. The King and Queen were foremost in setting the example of patriotism. Their Majesties gave up half of the allowances in specie which they received from the treasury. There were reductions in the salaries of the attendants upon the royal family. The Queen sent a portion of her jewels to the mint. Half of the King's plate, and that of his chapel, was devoted to the same purpose. The loyalty of the people was roused by the monarch's voice; every one gave according to his means. Those who had no money offered their estates; some possessors of entails solicited permission

to sell them, if the King would accept the value as a loan. These offers were accepted; in consequence of which the King's Ordinance of the 24th September 1798, was published, which allowed of such sales for the benefit of the state, securing, at the same time, to the owners an interest of three per cent. on the amount of the sale. This interest was to be paid within the stipulated time, and the heirs-at-law of the entails were to receive the interest on the very day on which, in the natural order of events, the possession would have devolved to them.

Every possessor of entails, substitutions, &c. was allowed an unlimited power of selling his property, and investing it in the treasury, at the rate of three per cent.; which interest was to be reckoned from the day the respective sums in specie were deposited, and was to be paid out of the sinking fund.

The next day, on the 29th September, two royal ordinances appeared: the first enjoining generally, and without exception, the deposit in the public coffers, or in the sinking fund, of all legal deposits, for which three per cent. interest was to be paid, reckoning from the day on which the deposits were made, until that on which they were to be withdrawn, conformably to the decision of the tribunals; the second, applying the above ordinance to all property sequestrated in consequence of bankruptcies, but at the same rate of interest, and on the same terms.

There was another royal ordinance, which appro-

priated to the sinking fund the property and income of the six great suppressed colleges of St. Bartholomew, Cuença, Oveido, the Archbishop of Salamanca, Santa Cruz de Valladolid, St. Ildefonso, and Alcala.

These properties were sold, and an interest of three per cent. reserved for any future destination to which that source of revenue might be applied.

All the remaining property of the Jesuits, whatever might be its present use, was applied to the relief of the finances, owing to the actual wants of the state, a reservation being made, in favour of third parties concerned, of an interest of three per cent. derivable from that property.

Then followed a royal ordinance laying a fresh duty on legacies to collateral heirs, or such as were not akin to the deceased.

On the same day another royal ordinance was published, which required the sale and deposit in the sinking fund of the proceeds of all landed property belonging to infirmaries, hospitals, charitable institutions, brotherhoods, pious foundations, lay impropriations, with a reserve of three per cent. in favour of those who were dispossessed, and a special mortgage on all revenues and capitals then appropriated to the sinking fund, and others which might in future be applied to the liquidation of the public debt.* The reverend

* The plan which I had previously recommended, and explained in writing to the Council of State, when the disposal
of

bishops and prelates were, in this ordinance, called upon to favour the sale of collective benefices, (capellanias), and all others within their jurisdiction, &c.

The simultaneous publication of these ordinances, which involved so many interests, and promised numerous resources, revived the credit of the vales, which immediately rose from seventeen to thirty per cent. Thus was it attempted to restore public credit, with a view to procure a loan, of which the Government stood in need, until the called-for resources should become efficient.

Ere a month had elapsed, a royal ordinance, published on the 17th of October, called for a second loan of four hundred millions of reals (a hundred millions of francs) to be supplied in four years, at the rates of four, five, five and a-half, and six per cent., according to four series,

of the landed property of these institutions was discussed, came again under consideration. My opinion, although supported by several members of the council, produced no other effect than the insertion, in the regulations of the sale, of the 29th clause, which was perfectly nugatory. It ran thus: "The sale of the above-mentioned property shall proceed in regular order. Those belonging to brotherhoods, pious foundations, and lay impropriations shall be sold first, to prevent confusion in the successive sales; next, those of infirmaries, hospitals, and charitable institutions, unless, as it is expressed, purchasers should come immediately forward to secure certain estates belonging to these establishments, in which case such estates will be forthwith sold by public auction." However, this article subsequently enabled me to save some of the estates which were entitled to form an exception to the rule.

to be selected at the option of the lenders, until they were fully reimbursed. In order to create a competition, there were prizes in money and in annuities. The revenue derived from American tobacco was added to other mortgages, and declared free of all charge. This loan was also effected without any difficulty.

After the lapse of a few months, other measures were adopted with regard to the property belonging to religious foundations. A special junta was created to direct this operation.⁴ Funds were immediately wanted to fill the public coffers, and restrain speculation ; it was attempted to turn the royal vales to account.

On the 13th of January 1799, another ordinance of his Majesty confirmed the right of selling entails and substitutions, by depositing the proceeds in the public coffers, at an interest of three per cent. and in consideration of a premium of the eighth part of the price of sale, to be allowed to the possessors of the entails. The granting of this premium was held to be an immoral act, both on the part of the government offering and of the party accepting it. There were persons, however, whose

⁴ This Junta was composed of a president, Don Antonio Despuig, archbishop of Seville ; of four ministers, two of them, Don Joseph de Vilches and Don Domingo Codina, belonging to the Council of Castile ; of one from the Council of the Indies, Don Juan Gonzales de Pineros ; one from the Council of Finances, Don Manuel Sixto Espinosa ; and two Secretaries, Don Rodrigo Gonzales de Castro and Don Balthazar Godinez.

greediness for money induced them to dispose in this manner of their patrimony,

As for religious foundations and charitable institutions, &c. nothing was left untried to accelerate the sale of them throughout the kingdom ; the royal vales were taken in payment, though a preference was given to specie. The vales, however, were received as money, at two-thirds of their nominal value. Each estate was sold separately ; large ones, when practicable, were subdivided, either to favour the purchasers or to increase the number of landholders. The sales were free from the duties of Alcabala, fines, twentieths, &c. The judicial duty was also lowered. Purchasers were allowed two years to make good their payments, if none were found to pay ready money.

A royal ordinance of the 15th of February of the same year, extended the term for purchasing redeemable or life annuities on the revenue derived from tobacco, a fourth part of the money lent during the reign of Philip V. being taken as ready money.

On the 17th of March, a royal decree required the deposit in the sinking fund of the fifth of the capitals existing in money, or in corn stored in the communal depôts or public establishments. On the 8th of April another ordinance created a new loan in royal vales of 53,109,300 piastres, from the 10th instant, in two issues, the one of 44,257 vales of 600 piastres, with the same formalities as in former cases, and an interest of four per cent. con-

formally to the royal ordinance of the 20th of September 1789, published in the reign of Charles III. The object of this twofold issue was to meet the payments and negotiations of the public treasury. These last vales were declared legal tender. A general panic arose: the vales were refused by every one, the fear of being compelled to take them caused an advance in the price of provisions, and especially in the value of specie. To the payment of the interest were appropriated the ancient revenues of the state, the mortgages and other stock destined to the same purpose. These united resources were deemed adequate to meet the annual interest of the debt. This interest then amounted, according to a strict calculation, to eighty-seven millions of reals, and twenty-five maravedis,^a or about twenty-two millions of francs. The surplus of the revenues and mortgages, as well as the proceeds of religious foundations and donations, &c. every year, were to be applied to the gradual extinction of the vales. The royal ordinance mentioned other resources as having been joined to those above-mentioned.

The difficulties of the treasury daily increased. It was thought proper to alter the course of management. The Junta to which the general direction and control of the finances had been entrusted on the

^a Fifty-two maravedis are equivalent to a real of vellon, and four hundred to a pexeta, or the fifth of a piastre of five reales and a fraction of centimes.

11th of January of the same year, was suppressed. A decree of the 6th of June restored the sinking fund to the same footing as at the time of its original foundation, in conformity with the royal ordinance of the 16th of January 1794. The Council of Castile was commissioned to propose to the King new regulations and economical measures for putting a stop to speculation and for consolidating the debt. All the estimates, plans, labours, and documents of the junta were transferred to the council.

In conformity with its report, seconded by the three attorneys-general (*fiscales*), his Majesty issued the decree of the month of July, wherein the council and ministry, with the best intentions in the world, and in accordance with the most brilliant theories, completely perplexed and overturned our financial system. Without any regard to the intellectual state of Spain in matters of public credit, the nominal value of the paper money was declared real and effective, with a difference of six per cent. in favour of specie; every contract wherein it should be stipulated that payment was to be made in gold or silver, to the exclusion of royal vales, was strictly forbidden; any payment in vales, with a discount of six per cent., was declared legal and valid. Judges and notaries were forbidden, under pain of forfeiting their situations, to attend to claims for payment in specie only. Every negotiation for the payment of vales beyond the prescribed

sum was made punishable with confiscation ; and one-half of the sum, respecting which information was given, was to be the reward of the informer.

Industry, agriculture, commerce, were successively paralyzed.

What were the measures adopted to revive them ?

Banks were established in the principal cities, to provide for the deficiency of specie : an offer was made to discount the vales when a case of necessity could be proved, to facilitate the circulation by means of notes payable to bearer. The amount of these notes was not to exceed the amount of specie.

What means, what resources were available for the establishment of those banks ? The forming or raising of a capital of 495,000,000 of reals, of which 100 were in specie, and the rest in bank notes.

How was this money procured ? Government furnished a tenth part of the sum required. The remaining nine-tenths were collected by means of voluntary or forced subscriptions, every one being bound to contribute in proportion to his means, throughout the kingdom. The royal ordinance required that the whole sum should be collected within a month of its publication.

These shares, and various sums, could not be collected. Each one contributed more or less

The cities were Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Malaga, Bilbao, Cadix, Cádiz, Cartagena, Valencia, Santander, Pamplona, &c.

according to localities and individuals, though every where with reluctance ; 33,000 shares were required to make up the desired capital.

What were the advantages offered to the shareholders ? Four per-cent. interest for the vales, whilst they remained in the bank ; and in respect of specie, the enormous premium of six per cent., to be deducted from the nominal value of the paper-money, and added to that progressive interest.

Nothing was left untried to attain this object. The government itself declared (royal ordinance of the 18th November 1799) that these banks were the sheet-anchor of the state, and could alone revive the public credit, and avert the ruin of commerce. It employed all imaginable means to organize and establish them unlimited confidence, full and complete liberty in the exercise of their functions, a power to indicate any resource which might appear suitable, a solemn promise to turn those resources to the best account, and to sanction every measure which would not be obviously opposed to the good of the state. The following is a list of anticipated concessions :—

1st. All the specie arising from assignments appropriated to the liquidation of the vales, which remained suspended until the secure establishment and circulation of the discounting chests.

2d. One-half of the funds coming from America.

3d. An annual and general contribution levied

on hired servants, on mules and carriage-horses, on inns, eating-houses, coffee-houses, confectioners, public-houses, wine and spirit-merchants, perfumers, licensed gaming-houses, hosiers, cloth and silk-merchants, cutlery, fashions, foreign provisions, and all articles of luxury.

4th. The proceeds of a tax on the titulars to royal appointments, who were to pay a third of the actual income of those offices, according to an estimate that should be made.

5th. An extensive lottery, with various prizes, namely—four of two, three, and four millions of reals, payable in ready money; 16,075 shares of annuities, on favourable terms, and with facilities for investing them. The price of a ticket was to be four reals (a franc and a few centimes). The total amount of the prizes was twenty-five millions of francs, or a hundred millions of reals.

6th. The proceeds of a duty of a fourth of a real (rather more than six centimes) laid on each *fanega* of corn, valued at a piastre (five francs), lying in public and other stores.

To check the overflow of the vales, with which the discounting banks were threatened, the Government endeavoured to find employment for the paper-money. The sale of landed estates, pious foundations, lay impropriations, &c. was accelerated; and by a fresh regulation, out of many of the same kind, every one was allowed to redeem with vales the charges with which his property was



burdened. The vales thus employed were no more brought into circulation. The public treasury kept them back, and paid the owners three per cent. interest until the capital could be reimbursed.

All calculation respecting the receipt and re-issue of monies had been made for the year 1800. But there was a deficiency of three hundred millions of reals (seventy-five millions of francs). The Government, being at the same time apprehensive of increasing the debt and forfeiting its credit, ordered this sum to be levied, in due proportions, upon the whole number of tax-payers. This afforded great facilities to the discounting banks.

What was, it may be asked, the result of this financial undertaking?

In respect to the banks or discounting chests, scarcely established, it was a heavy, an overwhelming burden; its result was insignificant as respects the public, notwithstanding every effort, and the best meant intentions. It is beyond the power of man to perform a miracle. How was it possible to struggle against that multitude of holders of vales, who were eager to obtain specie? The offices were beset, not only by commercial people, but also by persons of all classes who had their hands full of paper-money, received in payment, and could not purchase the common necessities of life.

The fatal ordinance which forced the circulation of the vales as a legal tender, imposed on banks

the duty of converting them into specie, whenever a case of necessity could be proved.

This was doubtless the best way of checking speculation; but, leaving out of question greedy men and the speculators themselves, who pleaded poverty, the real wants were so numerous that it was impossible to satisfy them all.

Little stock was discounted; every one complained; the credit of the Government disappeared. What farther aggravated the evil was, that a royal vauld could not be discounted unless the urgent want of specie were fully proved; and thus a tradesman was obliged to make known to the public the actual state of his affairs, and the nature of the business for which he wanted money.⁷ This was suffi-

⁷ In order to convey an idea of the situation of discounting banks, and of those who were compelled to have recourse to them, let us quote a passage from a manifesto published by the directors of the Bank of Barcelona, one of those that were established under the most favourable auspices (3d August 1799):—"The insufficiency of the sum which it has as yet been possible to realize, relatively to the capital of twenty millions in specie and forty in notes, which is always to be held in hand, requires that, even in cases of real necessity, we should proceed with the greatest circumspection. If we comply with the first demands, all the existing funds, and those we are to receive, will soon be exhausted, to the detriment of those who may subsequently apply for relief. The bank has, therefore, established strict regulations for giving permanence to the means of affording relief. The least indulgence might exhaust the supply," &c. The sixth chapter of the royal ordinance of the 17th July is then adverted to, which declares liable to forfeiture any one who might apply for the indulgence of discount, unless he proved the necessity for such application. The penalty incurred by the delinquent is
the

cient to deter many people from applying to the discounting banks. They preferred having recourse to usurers, with whom every place overflowed, and who waged a secret but active war against the banking system. It also happened that the favour granted to some excited the envy of those who were refused.

In times of scarcity, there always prevails an intense anxiety respecting the future, an imaginary hunger, as it were, which is more fatal than actual famine. Thus it happened that many persons, without being in want of specie, were impatient to get their vales discounted, and wished to get the start of others. The terrors of ignorance were manifested by fearful symptoms.

Of those who had notes payable to bearer, few

the loss of his stock. The manifesto further adds :—" The Junta hopes, that all will be withheld from unlawfully soliciting the benefit of the discount, through fear of the threatened penalties, and of injuring those who are really necessitous. It ought not, therefore, to be a matter of wonder, if the directors do not immediately give specie without a previous and certain knowledge of the wants of the applicant. None should take offence at this course ; he who has a just right need only ask ; and our severity will be a sufficient curb to those who are not justified in making the demand, as they will incur forfeiture and lose their character." The junta recommends forbearance and respect towards the directors, whose feelings will be put to a severe trial whenever they shall be compelled to withhold the relief applied for, but whose patriotic zeal and austere probity will firmly reject the demands of those who may not clearly establish their right according to the terms enjoined by the royal ordinance.

were aware of the advantages of circulating banks, which merely require the having in hand a greater or less portion of the sum represented by the circulating notes. The vales and notes payable to bearer were looked upon with equal mistrust. Persons engaged in local trade seldom carried their money to the banks, the sole guarantees for which were the Government securities, and the voluntary or compulsory shares which the banks could procure. A catastrophe was apprehended. Those even who could have supported and supplied the banks, and had the greatest interest in their prosperity, were the first to discountenance them.

The exchange of vales for specie, which was wanted by those who desired to effect advantageous purchases of estates belonging to religious and charitable foundations, was not productive of any great result. The banks only offered a discount of six and a-half per cent., as fixed by the royal ordinance, whilst speculators exchanged the vales at conventional prices far below their rate, and the banks could neither compete with, nor restrain them. Such was the fatal consequence of the errors of a government which, having first fettered itself, could no longer make a stand against speculators, nor raise the value of paper-money by affording it the guarantee of an immense quantity of landed estates which were about to be sold, and of which the purchase could not fail to excite competition. We were then in March 1800. The vales



lost more than half their nominal value ; they were perpetually sinking ; those, likewise, who wished to obtain the estates of religious foundations at a more moderate rate, did all in their power to depreciate the vales ; this had the effect of reducing almost to nothing the proceeds of those estates.

In this conflict those who were not addicted to speculations, and had no thought of purchasing landed estates, suffered all the consequences of the fatal ordinance, being compelled to receive in royal vales the rents received in kind by the farmers. The speculators sold the paper-money at any price to the debtors, who paid their creditors with it. Contracts presupposed good faith in the mode of reimbursement ; but those who had received gold or silver under a promise to repay in coin, availed themselves of the letter of the law which gave a forced circulation to the vales, and if the creditor refused to receive them, he was basely denounced as an infringer of the royal ordinance. At last, the Government discovered its error, and endeavoured to check the evil ; the law was modified, agreements were no longer compulsory. Let us attend to the pitiful official narrative emanating from authority.—(Circular of the 7th April 1800.)

“ The royal ordinance of the 17th July 1799, has given occasion to reiterated complaints. The King, the council, and the governor of the council, have received them from several ecclesiastical and secular bodies, as well as from a great number of private individuals”

“ His Majesty sees with regret the abuse that has crept into the execution of the royal ordinance, which had public utility for its object, and was intended to supply the scarcity of specie, occasioned by the embarrassments of trade and navigation during the present war. His Majesty had only sought to consolidate the credit of the paper-money.

“ It was not to be expected that this paper, which was guaranteed by the most solemn engagements, and by general and special mortgages, intended for the payment of the interest and the extinction of the capital; it could not be expected, says his Majesty, that this paper-money would give rise to so many painful disappointments.

“ But the manœuvres of certain persons, who, greedy of unlawful gains, are indifferent to the dictates of honour and conscience, have succeeded in discrediting the royal vales to such a degree, that they now circulate with a loss of half their nominal value. The legal interest of six per cent. is disdained. Some hoard up their money, others subject the vales to a heavy deterioration by underhand means, which it is impossible to detect or punish.

“ Speculation has accordingly made rapid progress. There is a daily increase of the number of those who, led away by bad example, seek to enrich themselves by an infamous traffic, and, which is worse, plead as an excuse for their guilty ma-



nœuvres the letter of the law, of which they affect to misapprehend the spirit. By this conduct they have perverted the benevolent intentions of the Government, and converted into an instrument of loss and ruin to the state, and to the classes the most entitled to attention, what was calculated to be an effectual relief for all.

“ The discounting banks offered a prompt relief to all those who wanted specie for their payments, their purchases, and other negotiations below the nominal value of paper-money; they were designed to frustrate a spirit of cupidity, to restore confidence, and revive the public credit. These banks have as yet been unable to receive the funds assigned to them, although so long a time has elapsed since the publication of the royal ordinance. We can no longer hope to see them fully organized, unless by the adoption of fresh and more effectual measures, which may succeed in removing the difficulties raised by the rich capitalists themselves. These capitalists affirm, that it is impossible for them to furnish their quota, because they receive no specie, and their farmers or copyholders, in contempt of solemn engagements, to the fulfilment of which they cannot even be compelled by the tribunals, allege the 2d, 4th, and 5th articles of the royal ordinance, as a solid plea for their bad faith.

“ If there has existed thus far any apprehensions of injuring private interests, it is impossible any longer to disregard manœuvres which are subver-

sive of public morality and of every principle of natural right. In certain engagements entered into subsequently to the royal ordinance, it was expressly stipulated, under all the guarantees which the keenest mistrust could suggest, that payment should be made in specie; and yet, after such binding contracts, the stipulations have not been kept. Paper-money has been substituted for specie, with a discount of six per cent. It has been designedly overlooked that if engagements were contrary to the ordinance, he who failed in performing them could not avail himself of an illegal act, nor derive benefit from a transgression; whilst the other party, which was least in fault, suffered the whole detriment arising from the contravention; whence it followed, that not only were bad faith and the violation of the compact in some respects countenanced, but all the principles of morality, those tutelary principles which should be the basis of all contracts in a well organized society, were violated.

“ The council brought all these disorders to the knowledge of H. M., in their representation of the 21st of last March, on the presentation of a memorial, amongst many others on the same subject, in which are more particularly demonstrated the damages occasioned by an unworthy and manifest abuse of the said royal schedule.*

* The reader may compare those excuses with the article of the fourth chapter of the ordinance of the 17th of July, which is thus worded: — “ The public treasury and all my subjects are bound

“ H. M., whose feelings are wounded by all that militates against the laws and morality, has benevolently attended to, and, by his royal resolution of the 26th of the same month, adopted the suggestion of the council. It is consequently ordained, that all conditions stipulated in the contracts, leases, sales, purchases, and other obligations, anterior or subsequent to the ordinance of the 17th July, shall henceforth be strictly observed ; that the payments either due or falling due shall be made in the currency stipulated, and that this rule shall be generally adhered to for the future, and include bills of exchange duly accepted ; that in verbal contracts, the parties shall express, simply and in good faith, the money to be received, to the end that from this moment the legal difference between the vales and specie be understood and voluntarily assented to ; that in case of non-payment, if the goods of the debtor be distrained, and the latter should only possess royal vales, the legal deduction shall be made from these bills, and be

bound punctually to pay their obligations in gold or silver, and not in royal vales, according to the conditions stipulated, until the day of the publication of the present royal ordinance ; but, henceforward, such engagements shall not be binding, for a contrary course would be tantamount to disowning the peculiar privilege of the state paper ; the same shall hold with respect to bills of exchange.”

It is immediately added :—“ I forbid the justices and notaries to receive any direct or indirect claim against the assimilation legally established between specie and the royal vales in every description of contract, under a penalty of interdiction, dismissal from office,” &c.

chargeable to the debtor's account; that every agent of the treasury or of private individuals, charged to collect either public contributions or other funds, shall deliver the money to his principals in the same currency or coin in which he shall have received it; that neither the agent nor the principal shall take advantage of the text of the royal ordinance, which is not to be taken in a literal sense, and which is, from this moment, to be considered as null and void in this particular. The foregoing is thus ordained for the present, until discounting banks are efficiently and permanently established, and until the royal ordinance receive its full effect, pending the eventual determination of H. M.," &c.

Heaven would not permit that the correction of such serious errors should be effectually and permanently decreed. The words, *for the present*, raised fresh doubts. It was feared lest the Government should again fall into the same error, and, sooner or later, should again raise paper-money to a level with metallic money. The vales were still viewed with great suspicion; they were only used from absolute necessity, and lost all their value.

Neither would Heaven permit the Government to see the abyss into which all the resources destined to consolidate the public debt were becoming ingulphed. It was loudly said, that those discounting banks were like the cask of the Danaïds,
to
ulation, powerless to relieve



commerce, objects of suspicion to the very parties who had taken an interest in their establishment. They were still perseveringly kept up for a few months ; extortion and violence transgressed all bounds ; capitalists were compelled to furnish the quota imposed upon them ; the quick return of new contributions, for the most part hitherto unknown, and equally burdensome to the poor and odious to the rich, was urged with severity. The stoppage of the payment of interest until the discounting banks should be in an efficient state, and the extraordinary subsidy of three hundred millions of reals, demanded with earnest entreaty, to make up the deficiency of the banks, produced much discontent ; terror became general ; cash wholly disappeared.

A last measure, just perhaps in itself, but ruinous in its effects, tended to increase the general alarm.

Portugal, always devoted to the cabinet of St. James, without being at war with us, served as a protection to the English, whose privateers incessantly infested our coasts, and found shelter in her harbours, where the British squadrons were provided with every means of refitting. As Portugal was not in a state to supply them from her native produce, the country people came to us for flour, oil, wine, meat, brandy, and even biscuit and fresh bread. The high price they paid for all these articles, and the extent of the demand, were a sufficient proof that the object was to victual the English fleet.

No doubt this protection granted to our enemies justified our declaring war against Portugal; the cabinet merely caused our markets to be closed against these ill-intentioned and ungrateful neighbours. But, on the other hand, the prohibition, rigorously enforced, completed the obstruction to our commerce, stopped an influx of money which had at least the effect of promoting the agriculture of the frontier provinces. The remedy was worse than the disease. Ought we, in order to deprive the enemy of this resource, to have condemned ourselves to misery, by stopping an outlet which proved of advantage to us?

In short, the absence of coin seriously alarmed the country, the anxiety went on increasing; about the month of August, the paper money had lost, in the principal towns, three-fourths of its nominal value; in the interior, none were found to take it at any price; all transactions were suspended owing to its general discredit, and to the want of metallic currency. The contributions were no longer paid; the treasury was empty; the banks were provided with paper only; and the property of religious establishments found no more purchasers, not even with royal vales.

The ministers did not yet understand the evil they had caused, and that evil was immense, perhaps incurable.

The King had again recourse to the Council of Castile, entrusting to it for the second time the management of the public debt.

In extreme emergencies, the assurances of governments lose all their authority.

The pragmatic sanction was however received with some degree of confidence. The King had published it in accordance with the suggestions of the council :

“ H. M. acknowledges and solemnly proclaims the validity of the public debt. The capital and interests shall be paid ; this is an obligation binding upon the crown ; it shall be scrupulously fulfilled ; the assignments of the bank shall be kept distinct and separate from the public treasury, and free from all other mortgages ; new assignments shall be added to the old ; the sinking fund shall be restored, and the payment of interests resumed and continued from the 1st of January next. This formal pledge is given to the country ; every thing shall be placed under the guarantee and superintendence of the council, in the same manner as from 1794 to 1798. The recovery and receipt of funds, the sale of the property appropriated to the extinction of the vales, and the whole administration and management revert again to the council.” *

* I must here point out to the reader, that the only means of repairing the errors committed during my absence from the ministry, were found in reverting to the state in which I had placed them during my administration, acting as I did in concert with my excellent and worthy colleagues. Our labour had not been so inefficient, since our successors were compelled to return to the same system in order to restore public credit.

Here

Such was the lamentable history of our public debt, during the three years of my absence from the administration and the court. My successors had blindly adopted a system at variance with the course I had marked out.

I claim the undoubted right to repel the charge of errors I have not committed, of misfortunes which I neither have, nor could have occasioned. I was a stranger, I repeat it, to the management of public affairs; they were conducted in utter disregard of my well-known principles.

I was bound to indicate the origin, the period of that enormous mass of taxes and burdens which have oppressed the nation during those three years; they gave rise to the ever-increasing embarrassments of our finances, the weight of which it would have been so advisable, and perhaps so easy to lighten.

How unjust was the censure which tended to throw the responsibility of so many errors upon him whose conscience was clear of them!

Here follows the thirty-first article of the Pragmatic Sanction, which restores the pre-existing system of my administration.

“Conformably to my royal decree of the 29th June of the last year, contained in the royal ordinance of the 6th July of the same year, the object of which is to replace all that concerns the ways and means, and the inversion of the funds, in the same state as from 1794 to 1798; and desirous of giving to this measure all requisite and suitable validity, so as to leave no pretence for mistrust, I ordain that all which appertains to the royal vales, and to matters thereunto relating, be separated from the public treasury, and immediately placed under the direction of the council. The officers and others attached to that service shall ~~under~~ ^{obey} the orders of the said council,” &c.



CHAPTER LI.

Conclusion.

PRAISE be to God! half of my task is accomplished! I also purpose to complete the second part of this long investigation of the past: justice and severity are my guides.

It has been seen that my task is not exclusively confined to the vindication of my own personal interests: I write the history of Charles IV., a monarch so little, so imperfectly known, yet so worthy of better fame. The critical and stormy period through which he had to struggle did not permit his reign to be peaceful and prosperous. In this reign, however, Spain was not visited with sterility: she brought forth sufficient valour, courage, and patriotism, to maintain her ancient celebrity. The concatenation of our glorious reminiscences shall not suffer interruption.

Sparing of censure towards those whose errors were unintentional, and ever ready to praise whosoever has well deserved of his country, I cannot be lenient towards the unworthy Spaniards who, to the calamities springing from a foreign source, have added the scandal of domestic treachery. I accuse them of having betrayed their country to

the enemy. This faction has triumphed through a succession of years, wielding the powers of heaven and earth; it perverted and obscured facts. It behoved me to restore them to light; and henceforth we shall be better appreciated. These Memoirs contain wherewith to fill up the chasm left in our annals.

Previously to resuming the thread of events, which daily acquired greater importance, I may be permitted to take a retrospective glance of the past.

If I am not labouring under a complete delusion, I may indulge a hope that the reader is now prepossessed in my favour.

The singular rapidity of my elevation, the high favour with which I was honoured by my sovereign, his extraordinary dread of the French revolution, the exaggerated idea he had formed of the extent of my resources to meet the impending storm,—all these may be explained and appreciated with more or less indulgence; but no one will deny me the merit of having attempted to deserve my good fortune, and of having constantly endeavoured conscientiously to discharge the duty which was imposed upon me.

1st. I did not engage in war with precipitation; neither did I shrink from the attack when the time had arrived to meet it.

2d. Our land forces were unprepared; in a few days the Spanish army was organized; our



colours waved on the enemy's territory; we won victories. Did stronger and better-prepared nations perform greater achievements ?

3d. When the second campaign proved unsuccessful, far from being dispirited by defeats, I never despaired of the safety of the country.

4th. Our battalions rallied, our thinned ranks were again filled up, our extensive frontiers were defended at every step. Among the states adjoining France, was there one that prevented the French from penetrating into the heart of her provinces ?

5th. I knew at what stage the struggle, becoming useless and fatal, and deviating from the great object it first had in view, only served to increase the strength, and consolidate the establishment of the Republic. I then made peace ; not before the other coalesced powers, but six months after a powerful sovereign had signed it¹—when one half of the empire was breaking off from the coalition—when it was clearly evident that none but England and France had any interest in protracting the war.

6th. The peace, on the part of Spain, was concluded at a moment when the Republic, having subdued the factions by which she had been convulsed, appeared to return to the councils of moderation, and willing to respect the common rights of nations; when she first uttered a language

¹ The King of Prussia.

of conciliation, and evinced a desire of renewing an amicable intercourse.

7th. This peace was not dictated in an imperious tone; there were conferences, a long discussion, conditions laid down on both sides, arms in hand, and without armistice. Our troops were full of vigour, in excellent condition, and again in readiness to cross the French frontiers. Battles were daily fought, and blood was still flowing even after the Bâle treaty had been signed.

8th. This peace cost not a single village, nor a rivulet, nor a hill, nor a bush; the sacred boundaries of our territory were not displaced. Spain was the only belligerent power which, in making peace with France, submitted to no sacrifice.

9th. The English cabinet, displeased at our peace with France, strove to cause a rupture; wished to allure us into a contest, as it had the Italian princes, without caring, without grieving for the devastation, the ruin which those princes were bringing upon their dominions. England resorted to intrigues, threats, provocations, and insults, with a view to influence us; she assailed our pride, and affected to entertain doubts of our independence. . . . Placed between two rival nations, threatened on every side, I preferred that course which would at once rescue us from the yoke of England, and relieve us from carrying on an expensive war for her sole interest, and on our own soil. I would not allow the Peninsula to be used as a

field of battle for foreigners ; a struggle that might be indefinitely protracted, or end like the rash enterprises of Holland and Naples, like the siege of Toulon, or the landings on the coast of Brittany.

10th. A war having broken out between Spain and England, without any provocation on our part, we had to look out for allies who could protect our colonies and commerce. We cordially joined France and Holland against England, without however separating from the other cabinets with which we kept up friendly relations, although some were still the avowed enemies of the Republic.

11th. Wisdom and moderation constantly presided over our policy. I attentively listened to the wishes and the opinion of the country ; I took no step without the unanimous concurrence of the Councils of State.

12th. Our alliance was no servitude ; it was a simple and open contract, entered into for the mutual interests of both nations in what related to that exclusively maritime war ; and Spain, having to preserve, as she actually preserved, her extensive possessions of North and South America, was powerfully assisted by France and Holland, whose naval expeditions were combined with ours.

13th. Were not the ministers who succeeded me at liberty to alter their system with regard to France, if they thought proper so to act ? They

not only followed in my footsteps, but united themselves still more closely with the Republic, and manifested a spirit of obsequiousness far less perceptible in the cabinet under my direction.

14th. This double war, first with France, and afterwards with Great Britain, was carried on during my ministry without loading the people with fresh taxes. Voluntary and patriotic contributions, and national loans, were found adequate to meet the immense preparations for war both by land and by sea: public credit was sustained by simple means, by the strictly moral motives of our operations.

15th. During the evil days of the war against France, there occurred in Spain no acts of violence, no persecutions, as in other countries, or even in our own, during the two years preceding my accession to the ministry.

16th. Far from dreading the progress of knowledge, I favoured it; I sought its support as a weapon against the pernicious doctrines which threatened Europe. I called round the throne all the men of talent, all the generous Spaniards, both friends and enemies of the ministry, without distinction. This system of impartiality answered the intended object. The cabals which had arisen at the very commencement of the reign of Charles IV. vanished away whilst I held the reins of power: the monarch alone reigned—the ruler of his people, and not the ruler of a party: there



was but one government—no *Camarilla*. The council of state, that of Castile, and all others, discussed and administered the affairs of the country according to constitutional forms.

17th. Merit never failed of its reward : there were few political offences, very few condemnations, and these were readily and liberally commuted, even in favour of the unworthy. No one suffered, in its full extent, the imposed penalty.

18th. War did no injury to the cultivation of letters and the study of the sciences ; on the contrary, the time lost in the two preceding centuries was repaired.

19th. I exerted every means to instil knowledge into the working classes, by disseminating instruction to all, from the simplest elements to the use of compasses and analysis.

20th. The productive arts, which enrich society, the ornamental arts, which add to its embellishment and delight, were flourishing, notwithstanding the state of penury occasioned by the war : the noble and wealthy classes set the example, by combating prejudices, encouraging industry, and exciting a worthy emulation.

21st. I held agriculture as sacred ; I honoured and patronized it in the furthestmost recesses of the kingdom, and where lands had, until then, lain waste ; time would have subsequently introduced extensive improvements ; the husbandman was

leniently dealt with, was freed from numerous shackles, received abundant succours; the Government created new resources for him.

22d. I trusted to commerce, which, in return, relied upon me in the painful circumstances in which it was involved during that fatal war. It had only to make its wants known to obtain, in Spain and in America, all the favours which it solicited.

23d. My elevated station did not prevent me from hearing and listening to the voice of poverty. What the charity of our predecessors had omitted to do in behalf of the unfortunate, I had the happiness to perform. Of all the miseries which assail mankind, the most cruel are those of having no parents or relations, no social rights, and of being deprived of speech, of the power of imploring assistance from our fellow-creatures: these I endeavoured to remedy. The Government adopted all foundlings, whose physical and moral education was secured; they henceforth had a country, an avocation, a cheering prospect. Next came the deaf and dumb paupers, for whom no one before me had entertained the idea of providing. I devoted all my attention to them; the Government furnished them with an asylum, caused them to be properly brought up and instructed; the first idea of this institution I claim; it was the object of my most lively solicitude, and was gra-



dually upheld and improved almost exclusively at my own charge.²

24th. Lastly, during my administration, of which so much harm has been said, and about which so many lies and calumnies have been circulated, day and night did not suffice me to wade through the labours of the cabinet, as well as through a multitude of other matters to which I willingly attended ; independently of the many transactions of which I have merely given a slight sketch in these Memoirs. All my time was devoted to my country ; my sole enjoyment, my only pleasure was to do good, to perform something useful or honourable for my native land. I am not aware of having lost a single day.

I do not claim much credit for my exertions ; I was fulfilling a duty ; the unlimited confidence of the King, his signal favours, my profound gratitude imposed upon me this duty ; and the applauses of the nation enhanced, on the other hand, the reward of my services. Undoubtedly I was but a man ; and what man is infallible ? But I

² It would once have been improper for me to speak of the alms and private charities to which I devoted a part of my fortune. I am now, however, at liberty to mention the subject ; the secret I had imposed upon myself, through a regard for those who were the objects of them, ought not to deprive me of the merit which is my due. I was charged with sordid meanness ; I knew it. . . . The judges delegate appointed by King Ferdinand to inspect my books and papers found that I annually gave in charities from 150,000 to 200,000 francs. One of these judges is still alive.

have nobly and faithfully served my country. She has no right to reproach me with a single error of omission or neglect; I have respected her in every one of her children; I have benefited many; no one can venture to affirm that I have been the cause of his ruin. I challenge even those who were my most inveterate enemies. Few statesmen, having had as much power at command, can make such an assertion without exposing themselves to a flat contradiction. It was with this full and perfect conviction that I retired from the ministry in 1798, carrying away the esteem of nearly all those whose censure or jealousy had at first been provoked by my rapid elevation. Mr. Bourgoing, in his *Picture of Modern Spain*, gave vent to his feelings in terms which it were unbecoming in me to repeat (vol. 1st., chap. V., p. 193). I shall only quote this sentence as an undeniable truth: "If his elevation excited envy, few were dissatisfied at his conduct." Removed from the court, I had occasion to view things more closely, and without illusion. I was divested of power; and yet the friendly throng still crowded round my residence. Whether absent or present, tokens of affection and interest were lavished upon me; towns and corporations were not satisfied with written testimonials of their regard.*

* When a minister, several towns did me the honour of appointing me perpetual *regidor* (alderman, municipal officer) of their corporations, a popular distinction not usually conferred upon



When an accumulation of errors subsequently overturned our financial system, many good patriots called upon me, in great alarm, to inquire what means might still be found to arrest the evil.⁴ No doubt they were beginning to do tardy justice to my administration ; and the regret they manifested at my absence was not wanting in sincerity. . . .

Heaven was reserving for me a last trial, far longer and more painful than the first : a period

upon ministers. One might have supposed that their interested homage was addressed to the power with which I was invested ; but, after my resignation, when I had no longer any interest at court, some corporations, who abstained from greeting my power, courted my favour when I was in disgrace. The town of Valencia, that of Ronda, and others, whose names I forget, gave me, afterwards, this unequivocal pledge of their esteem and affection.

⁴ One of the grave personages who wrote to me on this occasion, and the more earnestly, as he was a member of the council of state,* was the Bailli Don Antonio Valdes, ex-minister of the naval department. He spoke to me of the approaching and inevitable ruin of our finances, consequent on the system of Saavedra and his successors. Valdes' letters, and those of many other respectable individuals and corporations, must have been found amongst my papers.

* It is necessary to inform the reader that the dignity of councillor of state is not in Spain the same as with us. None can attain it until they have long held the rank of minister, or have exercised the highest military or civil functions, and deserved, by a long and honourable career, this last proof of the confidence of the sovereign. A Spanish councillor of state is, in a measure, what we term a minister of state ; though no longer holding the seals of office, he may nevertheless, be called, in that capacity, to the cabinet council, on important occasions.—E.

was to come when my devotion to my king and country would hurl me into a fathomless abyss, accused without the possibility of making a defence, despoiled and proscribed without a trial, and apprehensive of not having sufficient time or strength to complete this painful refutation—the last service I am bound to render to my country and my family. . . .

END OF VOL II.

EXPLANATORY DOCUMENTS.

(No. I.)

*Official Letter of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to the
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Govern-
ment.*

SIR :

I received with heartfelt satisfaction the letter you did me the honour to send me, together with the papers relating, 1st. to the neutrality of Spain ; and 2d. to the convention between Spain and France, with regard to the reciprocal withdrawing of the troops assembled on the frontiers of both kingdoms.

I hope that the executive council, the French nation, and her representatives, will find in this negotiation fresh and incontestible proofs of the candour and friendly intentions of H. C. M. ; it will be impossible for the least doubt to arise respecting his firm and resolute determination to preserve peace, good harmony, and a brotherly love between the two nations.

The literal meaning of the expressions used by H. C. M., his good faith, and even the manner in which this negotiation has been carried on, should, in the eyes of every impartial judge, add to the good opinion to which, at all times, Spanish loyalty has enjoyed a rightful claim throughout Europe. For my part, I discover in it an additional motive to congratulate myself on the happy circumstance

of having, at the same time, received private and analogous instructions, the result of which will be to strengthen the ties of friendship between two nations already united by mutual esteem and a common interest; which approximation deserves to be carefully cultivated, in order to maintain unimpaired those advantages which both Spain and France respectively derive from it.

The despatches containing these orders, with the instructions which, according to the orders themselves, are to facilitate their execution, were brought to me by a French extraordinary courier. I take the liberty to call your attention to this circumstance, as an additional proof of the sincerity with which H. C. M. is actuated, without giving cause to suspect that there might be secret instructions, or any other reservation on his part.

The declaration of neutrality demanded by the French ministry from the Spanish court, might be considered as supererogatory, seeing that this neutrality previously existed *de facto*, and that no act of hostility on the part of Spain could give reason to suspect an intention of infringing it. But H. C. M. felt, nevertheless, that the events which have occurred, and the war in which France happens to be involved, might, if not justify, at least occasion certain suspicions, which it is proper to remove; and that, moreover, this declaration, whether superfluous or necessary, by giving a more authentic character to his peaceable and friendly views, serves still more to consolidate the intimate connexion which it is our object more firmly to secure between the two nations.

What I have before stated respecting the good faith of H. C. M., and his full confidence in French loyalty, is unquestionably proved by the King's consent to the recall into the interior of the extraordinary forces which had been sent to the Pyrenees, though without any other view than

that of maintaining good order, which was endangered by some of the inhabitants of those frontier provinces, where malignity had propagated seditious principles. H. C. M. gave his consent the more generously, as he demanded no other condition on the part of France than that of withdrawing likewise the extraordinary forces which she had marched to her frontiers.

Although, at the first glance, the clauses of the convention appear to be perfectly equal, it is easy to perceive that they do not present, on both sides, an equal security, on account of the different nature of the two governments, and their respective positions. For it is indisputable that the French troops could assemble in greater numbers and in less time than ours. This inequality will find a guarantee in our mutual good faith and confidence.

But there is at this moment another circumstance which might consolidate the friendship and intimate union of the two nations; the interest of Spain, of France, and indeed of all Europe, is concerned on this point. I mean the successful issue of the important question in which France is engaged, and which absorbs the attention of all nations.

The mode of treatment which may be adopted towards the unfortunate Louis XVI. and the royal family, will afford to all nations an example of French generosity, and of her political moderation. When, however, the life of the head of the house of Bourbon is at stake, the King of Spain cannot feel unconcerned; he will not, on that account, be suspected of a desire to intrude himself into the affairs of an independent state; the interference of H. C. M. is confined to giving utterance to the voice of nature and compassion on behalf of his relative and ancient ally. The morality of all governments and of all countries justifies this step, and gives it plausibility under existing circumstances.

Therefore, without entering into a discussion of principles

which might appear unseasonable on the part of a foreigner, I shall confine myself to submit to you, in the name of the King of Spain, a few considerations, not so much because they are mine, as because they spring from the dictates of humanity and justice, and are founded on the right of nations.

Only those men who are regardless of humanity, justice, and common rights, can wonder at the importance of the trial of Louis XVI. in the sight of all nations; it is easy to answer that they themselves, by eliciting opinions in an opposite sense, enhance the importance of this great trial. The non-observance of the first rules of justice in the method of proceeding would have been condemned by them in any other legal prosecution; this violation of rules has been protested against, with much energy, by a multitude of Frenchmen, and by many members of the Convention, whose opinions and complaints have been published. Those opinions and complaints have been echoed in foreign countries, where they have deeply affected all calm observers, who, without passion or prejudice, contemplated from a distance the case of a defendant tried by the very men who, of their own assumed authority, have constituted themselves his judges, and of whom the greater number manifested, by anticipation, an opinion fostered by previous prejudices and hatred; a defendant whom they mean to condemn in the absence of all pre-existing law, and for offences of which I shall not attempt to examine the proofs; for even if they were established, they could not deprive him of his inviolability, guaranteed by the constitution of the state, formally accepted. Such an example, independently of all notion of justice, is of so serious a nature, that a nation, having any regard for itself, should dread to hold it up to other nations, of whom she claims the good opinion and respect.

It is impossible that the whole world should not be terrified at the violence exercised towards a prince remarkable,

at least, for his gentle and kind disposition ; a prince whose very meekness and good-nature have hurried him unto a precipice to which the most flagrant perversity would not have led the most cruel tyrants.

In short, if Louis XVI. has, in reality, committed errors, have they not been atoned for by his so unexpected downfall, by the miseries of a long and cruel captivity, by his harrowing anxiety concerning the fate of his children, his consort, his sister, and, what is worse, by the insults and outrages of men who thought they would act heroically by trampling on fallen greatness ! Such men disregarded this political truth, " That if a change of institutions may dispense a nation from the respectful regard due to her ancient sovereigns, no revolution whatever should obliterate in virtuous minds the respect due to misfortunes and to suffering humanity."

Spain is aware, (and for this reason she wishes to interpose her good offices) that France is neither guilty of, nor responsible for the errors and opinions of some of her children ; that France is a generous nation, and that most of her representatives abhor every kind of violence and useless severity ; but it is evident that they are not free, but under control ; and if, taking advantage of this general despondency of the public mind, the enemies of the unfortunate Louis XVI. should proceed to the last extremities against his person, it would become impossible to persuade other nations that France acted with full liberty ; the inference would be that in France there are men more powerful than the government, or than France herself.

After such a discovery, what confidence could be placed in her protestations, or in any treaty of peace, of alliance, or of commerce with such a nation ? Europe could only find, in such a state of things, a ground of perpetual

uneasiness ; she would be daily assailed with the fear of fresh commotions ; she would consider her interests endangered, and the consequence would be a general anxiety, and conflicting suspicions on the part of both.

An equitable and magnanimous conduct towards the royal defendant, would, on the contrary, secure the return of general confidence. The very presence of Louis XVI., and of all his family, in a country where he would enjoy an asylum under the faith of treaties stipulated to that effect, would be a living testimony of the generosity of France, and at the same time, of her strength. The whole world would admire a people moderate after victory, inflamed with exaggerated but noble passions, and whose triumphant arms would not prevent her voluntarily bending to the altar of justice. The esteem which this conduct would command from all nations would bring on a peace, which is an object of universal desire, and of which France herself is in need, in the midst of all her glory. May this bright hope be at length realized !

I have laid before you, Sir, the wishes of the King of Spain and those of the Spanish nation, which, true to its ancient character, knows how to appreciate all generous sentiments. Spain hopes that the French nation will be anxious to afford to future ages another example of the magnanimity which is its peculiar character.

Actuated by sentiments equally honourable to both, (the more honourable to France as she is now struggling against the most violent instigations,) the French and Spanish nations will henceforth be united by a sincere and durable friendship ; both have acquired sufficient glory to aspire to this noble alliance, founded on virtues of a humane and pacific character.

It is from these motives that H. C. M. considers he is taking a step consistent with his own dignity, by addressing

to the French government, the most earnest, the most pressing intercessions respecting the pending trial. The whole world watches our conduct.

I entreat that you will be pleased to submit to the National Convention, the request and mediation of the King of Spain. Could I, in my answer to H. C. M., apprise him that the desires of his heart have been fulfilled, I should be proud of having been the agent of this honourable and generous negotiation; happy in having alike served my country and your own, I would look back upon this day as the most glorious of my life, and upon this consolation as the most precious I can aspire to.

I have the honour of reiterating to you the expressions of my most distinguished consideration, &c.

JOSEPH OCARIZ.

No. II.

Ordinance of the 4th of September 1796, relative to the Treaty of Friendship, Boundaries, and Navigation, concluded and ratified between H. C. M. and the United States of America.

(Registered in the Council of Castile, on the 12th of August in the same Year.)

T R E A T Y.

H. C. M. and the United States of America, wishing to consolidate, in a permanent manner, the good understanding and friendly relations subsisting between the two contracting powers, have resolved to determine, by a treaty, various points, the settlement of which must promote the general welfare and mutual advantage of both countries.

H. C. M. has accordingly appointed H. E. Don Manuel de Godoy Alvarez de Faria, Rios, Sanchez, Zarzosa, Prince of the Peace, Duke del'Alcudia, Lord of the Soto de Roma and of the estate of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the first class, Perpetual Regidor of the town of Santiago, Knight of the illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III., Commander of Valencia del Ventoso Ribeira, and Acechal of the Order of St. James, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Malta, Councillor of State, First Secretary of State and Despatches, Secretary of H. M. the Queen, Chief Superintendent of posts,

bridges, and high-roads, Protector of the Academy of Arts, of the Royal Cabinet of Natural History, of the Laboratory of Chemistry, of the Botanical Garden, and of the Astronomical Observatory, &c., Gentleman of the Chamber in waiting, Captain-General of the Forces, Inspector and Major of H. M.'s Body-Guards ;

And the President of the United States, with the consent and approbation of the senate, appoints Thomas Pinkney, citizen of the United States, his minister plenipotentiary to H. C. M. :

And the two plenipotentiaries have drawn up and signed the following articles :—

1. There shall be a solid and inviolable peace and a sincere friendship between H. C. M., his successors and subjects, and the United States and citizens thereof, without any personal or local exception.

2. To avoid all discussion respecting the limits which divide the territories of the two high contracting powers, it has been agreed and declared in the present article, that the southern limit of the United States, which separates their territory from that of the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida, shall be determined by a line drawn from the river Mississippi, in the most northern part, from the 31st degree north of the equator, and thence proceeding in a straight line due east as far as the middle of the river Appala Chicola, or Catahouche, then through the middle of the river as far as its junction with the Flint ; and thence in a straight line as far as the source of the river Santa-Maria, and following the course of the river into the Atlantic Ocean. It is agreed between the two powers, that in case there should be any troops, garrisons, or settlements of the one in the territory of the other, conformably to the line of boundaries above described, such troops, garrisons, or settlements shall withdraw from the said territory

within the space of six months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if possible; and shall be permitted to carry with them all such goods and effects as are their lawful property.

3. For the execution of the foregoing article there shall be appointed by each of the high contracting parties a commissioner and a surveyor, who shall meet in the Natchez, on the left bank of the Mississippi, within the period of six months after the ratification of the present treaty. These commissioners shall proceed to draw the line of demarcation, conformably to the stipulations of the foregoing article. They shall draw plans, and record in a journal all their proceedings, which shall be considered as an integral part of the present treaty, and have the same force as if they had been textually inserted therein. If, by any motive whatever, it should be deemed necessary that the said commissioners and surveyors be attended by a military escort, the same shall be granted to them, in equal numbers on both sides, by the general commanding H.C.M.'s forces in the Two Floridas, and by the general officer commanding the forces of the United States in their south-western territory. These generals shall act in concert and amicably for the purpose of furthering this object, and also for the supply of provisions and instruments, and every thing requisite for the execution of this article.

4. It is also agreed, that the western boundary of the territory of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, shall be fixed in the middle of the channel, or bed of the Mississippi, from the northern limit of the aforesaid states as far as the complement of the 31st degree of latitude north of the equator. H.C.M. also consents to the navigation through the whole extent of the river, from its source to the ocean, being free and open to all his subjects, as well as to all the citizens of

the United States, unless, by a special treaty, this liberty be equally conceded to the subjects of another power.

5. Both the high contracting parties shall endeavour, by every possible means, to maintain peace and good harmony among the Indian tribes who inhabit the adjacent districts, in the vicinity of the lines and rivers which, according to the foregoing articles, shall constitute the boundaries of the Two Floridas; and, in order to attain this object, the two powers expressly bind themselves to repress all kind of hostilities on the part of the Indian tribes dwelling beyond the line of the common boundary; so that Spain shall not allow her Indians to attack those who inhabit the territory of the United States, nor the American citizens; and the United States shall likewise prevent their Indians from attacking the subjects of H.C.M., or his Indians, in any manner whatsoever.

Considering the existence of various treaties of alliance between the Indians and the two contracting powers, the latter pledge themselves never to enter, henceforward, into any alliance or treaty (except treaties of peace) with the Indian tribes who dwell on the respective territories of either. They shall, nevertheless, carry on their commerce, to the common benefit of their respective subjects and citizens, with perfect reciprocity; to the end that, by avoiding the expenses hitherto incurred by them on account of the said Indian tribes, the two contracting parties may enjoy all the advantages of a general and substantial harmony.

6. Each of the contracting powers shall endeavour, by every possible means, to protect and defend all vessels and other property whatsoever belonging to the subjects and citizens of the other party who should happen to be found within the range of their jurisdiction, either at sea or on land. They shall use all their efforts to recover and cause to be restored to the lawful owners the vessels and

other property which may have been taken from them within the range of their jurisdiction, whether they be or be not at war with the power whose subjects may have seized upon the aforesaid vessels or other property.

7. It is agreed, that the subjects or citizens of either of the contracting parties, and their vessels or other property, shall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other power on account of any military expedition, or public or private service of any description; and that in cases of seizure, detention, or arrest, whether for debts contracted or offences committed by the citizens or subjects of one of the contracting powers within the jurisdiction of the other, all proceedings shall be by legal course and authority, according to the legal forms required in similar cases. The said subjects and citizens shall be permitted to employ such counsel, solicitors, notaries, agents, or factors as they shall think necessary to manage their business or causes before the tribunals of the other contracting party; they shall also be permitted freely to attend the trials, and to be present at all examinations and depositions of witnesses which might occur in the course of the proceedings.

8. When the subjects and inhabitants of either of the two contracting parties, with their trading vessels or ships of war, shall be compelled by stress of weather, or to escape from pirates or the enemy, or by any other urgent necessity, to seek refuge or shelter in the rivers, bays, roads, or harbours of either of the two powers, they shall be received and treated with humanity, shall enjoy full protection, receive the necessary succours, and be allowed to supply themselves with refreshments, provisions, and other things requisite for their subsistence; to repair their vessels, and facilitate their pursuing their destination,—all which shall be furnished at a reasonable charge; they shall not be detained,

nor prevented, under any pretext whatever, from quitting the said roads and harbours. They shall, on the contrary, be at liberty to quit when and in what manner they please, without any obstacle or molestation.

9. All vessels and merchandize, of any description whatsoever, which may have been retaken from pirates on the open seas, and brought into a harbour of either of the two powers, shall be delivered up to the officers and authorities of the said harbour, to be wholly restored to their lawful owners, as soon as the right ownership shall have been legally certified.

10. In case a vessel belonging to either of the contracting powers should be wrecked, or have suffered any damage on the coasts, or in the rivers of the other power, assistance shall be afforded to the said respective subjects and citizens, either as respects their persons or their properties, in like manner as it would be afforded to the inhabitants of the country where the misfortune has occurred, without any other charge or duty than such as the inhabitants of the country are bound to pay in similar cases. Should it be found necessary to unload the vessel wholly or in part, in order to make the necessary repairs, the reloading of the cargo shall be subject to no export duty whatever.

11. The citizens or subjects of either of the two contracting parties shall enjoy, in the dominions of the other, the liberty of disposing of their personal property, whether by will, by donation, or in any other way. If the heirs be subjects or citizens of the other power, they shall nevertheless inherit the property which devolves to them by virtue of testaments or *ab intestato*; they shall be empowered to take possession, in their own persons, or by their proxies, and dispose of the property as they shall think fit, without

paying any other duties than those already established in the country wherein the succession takes place.

Should the heirs be absent, care shall be taken of the property devolving to them, in like manner as would be practised in a similar case respecting the natives of the country, until the legatee has approved of the arrangements adopted to collect the succession. Should any dispute arise among the claimants, it shall be definitively settled according to the laws of the country in which the said inheritance has fallen in. If, by the death of a person possessing real estates in the territory of either of the contracting parties, the said real estates, according to the laws of the country, should be transferred to a subject or citizen of the other power; and should the said subject or citizen, in his character of alien, be disqualified from holding the same, due time shall be allowed him for disposing of the property and collecting the amount, without any obstacle, and free from all deduction on the part of the respective Governments.

12. Trading vessels bound for any port of a power hostile to either of the contracting parties, the destination and cargo of which should give rise to well-founded suspicions, shall be obliged to exhibit, whether on the open sea or in harbours and capes, not only their passports but also certificates, clearly proving that the said cargo is not of the prohibited kind constituting contraband.

13. To favour the commerce of both countries, it is agreed that, in case of a rupture or war between the two nations, the space of a twelvemonth, reckoning from the time of the public declaration of the said war or rupture, shall be granted to commercial men, in the parts which they inhabit, to recover and remove their merchandize; should any part thereof be abstracted from them, or any injury

done to them by either of the two powers, or any of their subjects, during the term prescribed and laid down, they shall receive full satisfaction from both governments.

14. No subject of H. C. M. shall take letters of marque or patents as a privateer, against the United States, their citizens, or the establishments, or property of the latter, in the name of a sovereign with whom the United States may be at war. In like manner no citizen, or inhabitant of the United States, shall apply for or accept letters of marque or patents, to fit out a vessel or vessels against the subjects of H. C. M. in the name of a sovereign or state with whom H. C. M. may be at war. Should any individual of either nation take or accept such patents or letters of marque, he shall be treated as a pirate.

15. It shall be permitted to all and every one of H. C. M.'s subjects, as well as to the citizens and inhabitants of the United States, to navigate, in full freedom and security, with their own vessels and without any restriction, from whatever ports, whence the cargoes of the said vessels may come; and though they should be bound for the ports of a power actually hostile, or that might afterwards become so, either to H. C. M. or to the United States. The subjects and citizens here alluded to shall also be allowed to sail with their vessels and merchandize, and frequent with the same freedom and security the places and ports of the powers hostile to the contracting parties, or to either of them, without obstacle or opposition; and to trade not only from the ports of the hostile power direct to a neutral port, but also from a hostile port to another hostile port, whether the said port be in the power of one or in the power of many. It is, moreover, stipulated by the present treaty, that free vessels shall also secure the freedom of merchandize: all property is reputed free which is found on board of vessels belonging to the

subjects of either of the contracting parties, even should the cargo, whether wholly or in part, belong to the enemies of either power; it being, however, well understood that contraband trade shall always be excepted. It is, moreover, agreed, that the same freedom is guaranteed to the individuals who may be on board a free vessel, even should they be enemies of the two contracting parties; they consequently cannot be taken prisoners, nor be removed from the said vessels, unless the said individuals be military men, engaged at the time in the enemy's service.

16. This freedom of navigation and commerce shall be extended to all kinds of merchandize, those only excepted which are comprehended under the denomination of contraband, or prohibited goods, such as arms, cannon, shells, bomb-matches, powder, matches, pikes, swords, spears, darts, halberds, rockets, grenades, saltpetre, muskets, balls, shields, helmets, cuirasses, coats of mail, and other arms of the like kind, calculated for the equipment of soldiers; musket-holders, belts, horses in harness, and all other implements of war, of every description; but the goods and wares hereafter designated are not included among the contraband or prohibited articles; namely, all kinds of cloths, woollen, flaxen, silk and cotton textures, or any other tissues; all kinds of garments and the stuffs whereof they are made, gold and silver, either wrought, coined, or uncoined, pewter, iron, brass, copper, bronze, coal, as also oats, wheat, barley, and all kinds of vegetables, tobacco, spices in general, smoked and salt meat, salt fish, butter and cheese, beer, oil, wine, sugar, all kinds of salt, and in general all articles of consumption or eatables; all descriptions of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, resin, ropes, cables, sails, sailcloth, anchors, masts, boards, oak, timber, and other matters used in ship-building and refitting; and every other material not having the shape of an instrument

prepared for land or sea warfare, and much less are to be deemed contraband, any material prepared for other purposes. All the above-named shall be free merchandize, as well as all other articles and wares not expressly designated in the enumeration of the contraband articles; so that they may be transported and conveyed into hostile towns, except such as might be actually besieged, blockaded or attacked, and except the cases in which a ship of war, in consequence of damage or other causes, should be under the necessity of taking the goods of a trading vessel. In this latter case, the ships of war shall be empowered to detain them, and take such provisions as they stand in need of, for which they shall give a receipt, to the end that the power to whom the vessel which took the goods belongs, may pay for them according to their value and current price in the port to which the owner was bound, as shewn by his papers. The two contracting parties bind themselves not to detain the forementioned trading vessels, except in cases, and for such length of time, as shall be rigorously necessary to take out the requisite stores and provisions. The contracting powers shall immediately honour all receipts, and indemnify the proprietors for all damages incurred by them.

17. To avoid all complaints and discussions, it is further agreed, that, in case of either of the contracting powers being involved in a war, the vessels belonging to the other power shall be provided with naval patents or passports, describing the name and residence of the proprietor and of the master, and the nature of the cargo, to the end that it be thus ascertained that the said vessel and cargo really and truly belong to the subjects of one of the contracting powers. The passports shall be delivered according to the form hereunto annexed. They shall be renewed annually, should the vessel re-enter the port from whence it sailed in

the course of the same year. It is likewise agreed, that if the said vessels be loaded, they shall have to exhibit not only their passports, but also certificates containing the particulars of the cargo, the name of the place from whence they sailed, and a declaration of any articles of contraband that may happen to be on board. These certificates shall be expedited in the usual form by the officers of the administration at the port from whence the said vessels set out; should it be deemed prudent and advisable to designate in the said passports the proprietors of the merchandize, it shall be allowable so to do; in the absence of these formalities, the vessel shall be taken to a port of the respective power, and the case tried by the competent tribunal, according to the rules just laid down. In the event of these rules having been infringed, the vessel shall be declared a lawful prize, unless the objections be legally removed by the production of competent proofs.

18. When a vessel, belonging to the subjects, towns, or inhabitants of either of the two powers, shall be met with along the coast, or in the open sea, by a man-of-war, or by a cruiser of the other power, the man-of-war, or cruiser, to avoid unpleasant occurrences, shall keep out of the range of cannon, and be at liberty to send her long-boat alongside the trading vessel. The said trading vessel shall allow two or three men from the long-boat to go on board; the master or captain of the vessel shall exhibit his passport and other papers, which must be in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty, and leave no doubt respecting the ownership of the said vessel; after having thus exhibited his passport and legal documents, he shall be at liberty to resume his voyage without being molested, or any way pursued or obliged to alter his course.

19. Consuls shall be established, on principles of reciprocity, with all the privileges and faculties enjoyed by

those of the most favoured nations, in those ports where consuls actually reside or are at liberty to do so.

20. It is likewise agreed, that the inhabitants of the territories of both contracting powers are reciprocally admitted, by the courts of justice, legally to claim the restitution of their property, the payment of what is due to them, and compensation for the damage they may have incurred, whether the parties against whom they have complaints to prefer, belong, either as subjects or as citizens, to the country in which they happen to be, or against any other persons who may have taken refuge therein. The proceedings and verdicts of the said tribunals shall be the same in case the pleading parties be subjects or citizens of the same country.

21. To put an end to all disputes concerning the losses experienced by the citizens of the United States in consequence of the capture of vessels and cargoes, made by H. C. M.'s subjects, in the last war between Spain and France, it is agreed, that all such cases shall be finally settled by commissioners, appointed in the following manner:—H. C. M. shall appoint one, and the President of the United States another, with the knowledge and approbation of the Senate; these two commissioners shall appoint a third. In case they should not agree, each shall name a person, and these two names shall be drawn by lot, in the presence of both commissioners; the person whose name shall first come out shall be elected as a third commissioner, having a casting vote. The three commissioners shall then be bound, on their oath, to examine and decide without partiality, the claims under consideration, according to the nature of the respective cases, and conformably to equity, justice, and the rights of nations. The said commissioners shall hold their sittings at Philadelphia; in case of death, absence, or illness, of one of

them, he shall be replaced in the same manner as he was elected ; and the new commissioner, exercising the same functions, shall take the same oath. Within the time of eighteen months from the day of their first meeting, all complaints and claims authorized by the present article, must have been preferred. The commissioners shall receive, under the guarantee of an oath, the declarations of all persons brought before them, to give explanations on the aforesaid claims. They shall admit, as evidence, all written testimony sufficiently authenticated and proved to be valid. The decision of the commissioners, or of two of them, shall be final and peremptory, both with respect to the justice of the claim and to the compensation duly and lawfully awarded. H. C. M. pledges himself to cause them to be paid, either in gold or in silver coin, without deduction, and at such times and places, and under such conditions as shall be determined by the said commissioners.

22. The two high contracting powers, trusting that the good understanding and friendship at present subsisting between them will become more closely cemented in virtue of the present treaty, and will tend to promote the wealth and prosperity of both countries, will be disposed to grant from time to time to commercial pursuits all the favour and latitude which their common interest may require.

And from the present time, in consequence of what has been stipulated in the 4th article, H.C.M. allows, for a term of three years, the citizens of the United States to deposit their goods and merchandize in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence, without paying any other duty than the exact amount of warehouse rent. H.C.M. offers, moreover, to prolong the term of this concession, if, from the experience of the three preceding years,

it does not appear to compromise the interests of Spain ; and if it should not be found convenient to prolong the said concession in the port above designated, H.C.M. will name another place on the banks of the Mississippi for the same purpose.

23. The present treaty shall not be in force until after its ratification by the contracting powers; and the respective ratifications shall be interchanged within the term of six months, or sooner if possible, from the present date.

In faith of which we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of H.C.M., and of the United States of America, have, by virtue of our full powers, affixed our signatures to this present treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, and sealed it with our seals.

THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE (L.S.)

THOMAS PINKNEY (L.S.)

St. Lorenzo el Real, October 27th, 1795.

Here follow the full powers, ratifications, and exchanges.

The models of passports or naval patents, mentioned in the 17th article of the treaty, are subjoined :—

Model of a Passport or Naval Patent granted to all
Vessels to navigate in Europe, as mentioned in the
17th article.

Don Carlos, &c., having granted a license to.....
inhabitingto the end that, with his
of tons burden, he may navigate and traffic in the
seas and ports of Europe, whether in my dominions or in
foreign states, and especially at under the express
prohibition to stop in the islands or continent of America.

I desire that, after having verified the ownership of the
vessel in his favour, or in that of one of my subjects whose
authorization he has obtained to that effect, he should be

permitted to man and equip the abovenamed vessel with men from his own country, or from such of my dominions as have been declared by the naval ordinances proper for this levy of seamen, to navigate and traffic in the said seas under existing regulations. And I order the general officers or others commanding my squadrons and ships, the commanders and comptrollers of the naval departments, the provincial commanders, sub-delegates, port officers, and all other officers and commanders of my naval forces, the captains and commandants general of the provinces, the governors, corregidores, justices, and authorities of the ports of my kingdoms, and my other subjects, in whatever does or may concern them, not to cause any obstacle or occasion the least delay ; but, on the contrary, to aid and assist the above-named in every thing useful or necessary to enable him to continue his navigation and lawful traffic ; and with regard to the subjects of the Kings, Princes, Republics, or Governments friendly and allied to me, to the commanders, governors, and authorities of their provinces, towns, squadrons, and ships, I also request them not to cause any obstacle to his free navigation, entrance into, and departure from their ports, where he might suddenly or accidentally enter ; to allow him to prosecute his lawful traffic, victual his vessel, and provide it with necessaries.

To this end, I have ordered that the present passport be delivered to him, countersigned by my secretary of state for the naval department, which passport shall be valid for the term of from the day on which it is availed of, as described in the note at foot.

Given at on the of
of 17

I, the KING.

PEDRO VARELA.

Model of a Passport or Letter of Marque granted to
Vessels navigating in America, as mentioned in 17th
Article.

Don Carlos, by the grace of God, &c., having granted permission to to go with his vessel, named of tons burden, leaving the port of with a cargo and commercial goods, and to repair to that of to return to Spain in the port of under the express condition to steer his course on going and returning directly to the above-named places, without deviating or stopping in any other ports, national or foreign, nor in the islands or on the coasts of Europe or of America, except in case of necessity and urgent compulsion. In consequence of which, my will is, that the president of the contratation of the Indies, or the minister charged with the dispatch of vessels in my dominions beyond seas, and the intendant of the naval department, at the port where the said vessel shall be equipped, shall concur to facilitate, on his behalf, all lawful and reasonable objects, each in own jurisdiction ; the first (the president), in every thing concerning the accommodations and cargo ; and the minister of marine in what appertains to the formation of the crew, which ought to be composed of persons duly entered in the registers, a certified extract of which must be exhibited, under the obligation of taking care of them and of answering for their conduct, as it is prescribed by the naval ordinances.

And I order the general and other officers, the commanders of my squadrons and ships, the president, minister of the contratation of the Indies, commanders and ministers, &c. and to all my other subjects whom it may concern, not to cause any obstacle, or occasion the least delay ; but, on the contrary, to afford succour and protection to the said to favour his free navigation and licit commerce.

And with respect to the subjects of the kings, princes, and republics, my friends and allies ; the commanders, governors, authorities of the provinces, towns, and squadrons, &c., I request of them likewise, not to cause any obstacle to his free navigation, his entrance into and departure from their ports, which he might suddenly or accidentally enter, to allow him to take in provisions and to supply his ship with all necessaries.

To this end I have caused to be delivered the present passport, countersigned by my secretary of state for the naval department, which passport shall be valid for the time of the duration of his voyage, going and returning; after which it shall be withdrawn by the minister charged with this department. And for the departure of the said and for immediate use, a note thereof shall be written in the margin of the present passport, by the competent authorities.

Given at on the of of 17

I, the King—PEDRO VARELA.

The present decree having been published in my royal council, it has been resolved to execute the same, and to expedite this royal decree : to this end, I order all, and every one of you, according to your respective duties, residences, and jurisdictions, to take cognizance of the present treaty of friendship, navigation, and boundaries, concluded and ratified between my royal person and the United States of America, in order to execute, observe, and give it effect in all and every particular, according to the tenour thereof, without contravening or suffering any contravention thereto ; but, on the contrary, should the case require it, you will respectively issue the necessary orders to secure its full and punctual execution.

(No. III.)

TREATY OF ALLIANCE.

DON CARLOS, &c.

Having always sought to procure for my people the inestimable blessing of peace, I had brought the war with the French Republic to as speedy a termination as possible, and immediately turned my attention to concluding a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the said Republic; being persuaded that by this means, the two nations becoming united, would obtain the consideration and respect due to them in Europe, and that general tranquillity might be re-established.

After a long negociation, this treaty has been concluded and ratified; I have ordered the usual minutes to be remitted to my Royal Council, as well as my decree of the first instant, to the end that, after having taken cognizance of the same, the said treaty be observed and caused to be observed in all that concerns my said Council; the following is the tenour thereof:

TREATY.—H. C. M. the King of Spain and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, desirous of strengthening the bonds of friendship and the happy restoration of intercourse established by the treaty of peace concluded at Bâle on the 22d of July 1795 (4th Thermidor an III. of the Republic), have resolved to enter into a second treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, embracing all that may concern the common defence and interests of both nations.

H. C. M. and the Executive Directory of the Republic have, to this effect, invested with their full powers, and appointed for this negociation, namely; H. C. M., His Excellency Don Manuel de Godoy Alvarez de Faria, Rios

Sanchez, Zarzola, Prince of the Peace, Duke del Alcudia, Lord of the Soto de Roma, and of the estate of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the first class, &c. &c. &c. ; and the Executive Directory, the Citizen Dominique Catherine Perignon, general of division of the armies of the Republic, and her ambassador to H.C.M. the King of Spain.

Who, after having communicated and exchanged their respective full powers (a copy of which is hereunto annexed), have adopted and decreed the following articles :

Art. 1. An alliance offensive and defensive in perpetuity, between H.C.M. the King of Spain and the French Republic.

Art. 2. The two contracting powers mutually guarantee to each other, in the most authentic and absolute manner, the states, territories, islands, and towns which they possess or may hereafter possess ; and should either of the two be menaced or attacked, under any pretext whatever, the other pledges and binds itself to assist by its good offices, and to succour the same as soon as called upon, as it is stipulated in the following articles.

Art. 3. Within the term of three months from the time when the application shall have been made to either of the two powers, the latter shall place at the disposal of the other fifteen ships of the line, three of which shall be three-deckers, and twelve shall carry from seventy to seventy-two guns, six frigates of corresponding burden, four corvettes or light vessels, all armed, equipped, and supplied with provisions for six months, and with rigging and every other requisite for one year. The power thus called upon shall assemble this naval force in such part of its dominions as the power applying shall appoint.

Art. 4. In case the applying power, with a view to commence hostilities, should think proper to demand only one half of the force mentioned in the foregoing article, this same power may, at any period of the campaign, claim the

other half, which shall be supplied in the manner and on the terms agreed upon, to be reckoned from the time when the requisition shall have been made.

Art. 5. The power called upon shall also hold in readiness, in compliance with the requisition of the power applying, and within the same term of three months from the date of the requisition, a force of 18,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, with a proportionate train of artillery ; this force to be only employed in Europe or in the colonies which the contracting powers possess in the gulf of Mexico.

Art. 6. The power applying shall be at liberty to send one or two commissioners, to ascertain that the power called upon by virtue of the foregoing articles, has taken the requisite measures to commence war on the appointed day, with the land and naval forces determined by the said articles.

Art. 7. These forces shall be laid at the entire disposal of the power applying, either to be detained in her harbours, or on the very territory of the power applied to, or to employ them in such expeditions as shall be deemed advisable, and without the said power being bound on that account to explain the motives which have determined her to give them any destination it may think proper.

Art. 8. The requisition made by one of the two powers for the succours stipulated in the foregoing articles, shall be considered as proving the need of them, and shall impose on the other power the obligation of acceding to the said requisition, without discussing whether the war be offensive or defensive, without its having any claim to explanations calculated to elude or retard the fulfilment of the stipulations.

Art. 9. The troops and vessels demanded by the applying power, shall remain, during the whole of the war, at the disposal, and not in any wise at the charge, of the said applying power. The power called upon shall keep them in its pay wherever its ally may employ them, as

though the power so called upon were employing them on its own account. It is merely agreed, that during all the time when the vessels and troops shall remain on the territory, or in the ports of the power applying, the latter shall supply from its own stores and arsenals whatever may be necessary, in the same manner, and at the same prices, as though the troops and vessels were its own.

Art. 10. The power called upon shall replace, without the smallest delay, the vessels forming part of its quota, which may perish by the casualties of war or by accidents at sea; it shall also repair the losses which may be incurred by the land forces.

Art. 11. Should the above-mentioned succours prove inadequate, the two contracting powers shall bring forward the greatest land or sea forces at their command, against the enemy of the power attacked, which latter shall use them in co-operation with her own, or separately; but still in accordance with a general plan concerted between the two powers.

Art. 12. The succours stipulated in the foregoing articles shall be supplied in all the wars in which the contracting powers may happen to be involved, even in case the power applied to should have no direct interest in it, and should merely act as an auxiliary.

Art. 13. If the two contracting powers should conjointly declare war against one or more powers, the question being of equal interest to both, the limitation prescribed in the foregoing articles shall cease to operate as a rule; both powers shall direct against the common enemy all their land and naval forces; they shall combine their plans of attack on such points as they shall deem most advisable, whether by uniting their forces, or by acting separately. The contracting powers bind themselves, in such cases, not to treat or make peace, unless by common consent, to the end that each of them may obtain suitable satisfaction.

Art. 14. In case one of the two powers should merely act as an auxiliary, the power attacked shall be at liberty to make peace or to treat separately; in such way, however, that no prejudice shall result therefrom to the auxiliary power; but rather, if possible, that the said auxiliary power shall derive advantage therefrom. To this effect, the said power shall be made acquainted with the negotiations commenced or about to be opened.

Art. 15. A treaty of commerce shall immediately be drawn up, founded on principles of equity and mutual advantage between the two nations, in order to secure to each, in the dominions of its ally, a preference in favour of the productions of its soil and manufactures; and advantages equal at least to those enjoyed by the most favoured nations; the two powers bind themselves, from the present date, to act in concert to repress and combat the maxims adopted by any country whatever in opposition to their present principles, and contrary to the respect and security due to neutral flags; as also, to re-establish and restore the colonial system of Spain on the same footing as it has or should have been according to treaties.

Art. 16. The character and jurisdiction of the consuls shall at the same time be regulated by a special convention; previous conventions shall provisionally remain in force.

Art. 17. In order to avoid all kind of misunderstanding between the two powers, it is agreed, that they shall, without delay, explain and clear up the 7th article of the treaty of Bâle, relative to the respective frontiers of the two countries, according to the instructions and plans communicated by the undersigned plenipotentiaries.

Art. 18. England being the only power from whom Spain has received direct offences, the present alliance shall only take effect against her in the present war, and Spain shall remain neutral with regard to the other powers at war with the Republic.

Art. 19. The exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty shall take place within a month, to be reckoned from the day on which it has been signed.

Done at St. Ildefonso, the 18th of August 1796.

(L.S.) THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

(L.S.) PERIGNON.

(Here follow the ratifications and exchange of full powers.)

The present decree having been published in my royal council, it has been resolved that it should be executed, and the present decree expedited in consequence. Therefore, I order and command all and every one of you, according to your attributions in the respective places and jurisdictions, to receive the present treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, hereunto annexed, between my royal person and the French Republic, which treaty you will inviolably observe and execute, and cause to be observed and executed as it is stipulated, without suffering or allowing, in any manner, the least deviation therefrom, by giving the necessary orders, such as the case may require.

(No. IV.)

MANIFESTO AGAINST ENGLAND.

(ORDINANCE of the 7th October 1796.)

DON CARLOS, &c.

Make known that, under the date of the 5th of the present month, I have addressed to my royal council the following decree:—

Royal Decree.

One of the chief motives by which I was influenced in making peace with the French Republic, as soon as that

Government began to assume a solid and regular form, was the conduct persevered in by England towards me during the whole of the late war, and the just diffidence of the future to which the past experience of her bad faith had given rise.

This bad faith manifested itself, 1st, in the most critical moment of the first campaign, by Admiral Hood's treatment of my squadron at Toulon, where his only aim was to destroy what he could not carry away; 2ndly, by the occupation of Corsica, a short time afterwards, an expedition which the said admiral carefully concealed from the knowledge of Don Juan de Langara, when they were together at Toulon.

The English ministry evinced equal bad faith by keeping a profound silence respecting its negotiations with other powers, namely, the treaty concluded on the 24th November 1794 with the United States of America, without any regard or consideration for my well-known rights. Her reluctance, her invincible aversion to adopt the plans or ideas which might hasten the termination of the war, were also forced upon my attention, as well as the vague answer of Lord Grenville to my ambassador the Marquis del Campo, when the latter applied to him for succours to continue the war with success.

No doubt remained on my mind concerning the bad faith of England when she so unjustly embezzled the rich cargo of the Spanish vessel the *Santiago* or *Achilles*, which should have been restored according to the terms of the convention passed between my secretary of state, the Prince of the Peace, and Lord St. Helens, ambassador of H. B. M.; to this contempt of treaties, may be added the seizure of naval stores which were brought to Spain on board of Dutch vessels, and the restitution of which was also the subject of chicanery and of interminable difficulties; and the continual landing

of the English on the coasts of Peru and Chili, to carry on smuggling, to explore minutely all the accessible points, under pretence of whale-fishing, the privilege of which they alleged by virtue of the convention of Nootka Sound.

Such were the proceedings of the British ministry, in proof of the good understanding and confidence it had constantly promised to us on all occasions, conformably to the treaty of the 25th of May 1793.

When peace was concluded with the French Republic, I not only had well-grounded motives to suspect that the English were forming serious designs against my possessions in America ; but I also received direct insults, which proved to evidence the resolution adopted by the English ministry to force upon me a course contrary to the welfare of humanity, desolated by a war which annihilates Europe, a course diametrically opposed to the desire I have manifested to the British cabinet, on numberless occasions, of putting an end to this calamity, by interposing my good offices to bring about a general peace.

England has revealed her secret designs by sending powerful expeditions to the Antilles, sometimes against St. Domingo, to prevent its being given up to the French, as may be seen by the proclamations of the English generals in that island ; sometimes to support the establishment of their commercial companies in North America, on the banks of the Missouri, in order to penetrate by that means into the Pacific Ocean ; and finally, by the conquest, on the continent of South America, of the colony and roadstead of Demerara, belonging to the Dutch, an advantageous situation, which opens to England an access to other important points.

But those intentions are still more clearly shown to be hostile from the reiterated insults offered to my flag, and from the violent acts committed in the Mediterranean by their frigates, which have carried away by main force recruits for

our armies, that were on board several Spanish vessels, on their passage from Genoa to Barcelona; by the piracy and constant vexations of the Corsican and Anglo-Corsican corsairs, protected by the English government of the island of Corsica, who infest the Mediterranean, and pursue the Spanish vessels even into the roads of Catalonia; by the seizure of ships laden with Spanish property, which are conducted to England on the most frivolous pretexts, and especially that of the wealthy cargo of the frigate *Minerva*, which, in contempt of my flag, has been detained, after having exhibited before the competent tribunal the authentic deeds which justified the origin of its cargo.

No less grievous is the insult offered to the character of my ambassador, Don Simon de Las Casas, by a London tribunal, which ordered his arrest on the demand of a trifling sum made by a boat-owner.

It is impossible to tolerate any longer the outrageous violence exercised on the coasts of Alicant and Gallicia by the brigs of the British Royal Navy, the *Cameleon* and *King-Roo*.

What can be more scandalous, more insolent, than what has just occurred in the island of Trinidad, where the captain of a frigate, Mr. Vaughan, went on shore with flying colours and drums beating at the head of his armed crew, to attack the French and revenge himself for an insult which he pretended to have received; thus audaciously disturbing the peace of my subjects, without any regard for my sovereign authority !

By such revolting, such unaccountable proceedings, that ambitious nation has proved that she no longer knows any other interest than that of extending every where her commercial avidity, no other laws but her arbitrary will over all the seas.

My patience and moderation have been tried to the utmost.

The honour of my crown, the duty imposed on me of protecting my people, compel me to declare war against the king of England, his dominions, and subjects. Let orders relative to the defence of my possessions and that of my own subjects, and to attacking the enemy, be issued in every direction. Let the council be informed and apprised of this, to the end that each one may conform to it in what concerns him.

(Escorial) St. Lorenzo, 5th October 1796.

To the Bishop, Governor of the Council.

Published in full council on the 6th of the same month. Ordered to be carried into effect. Dispatch of the royal decree, by which the order is enjoined.

(The usual Formula.)

END OF VOL. II.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Introduction. Page xli, line 38, *for* Proofs are wanting, *read* Proofs are not wanting.

VOL. II.

Page 55, line 21, *for* against France,—and against France, *read* against France and against us.

- 87, — 16, *for* It is assigned from funds which secure, *read* funds are assigned to secure.
- 124, — 11, *for* the general interest, *read* in the general interest.
- 134, — 8, *for* 1790, . . . those who, *read* 1790. Those who.
- 139, — 19, *for* of execution, *read* of being sentenced.
- 186, — 9, *for* that, *read* those.
- 187, — 19, *for* did they exert, *read* did they not exert.
- 188, — 7, *for* disgraced, *read* ill-favored.
- 193, — 1, *for* a carefully arranged education, *read* an education carefully provided for.
- 200, — 15, *for* Velasques, Ribera, *dele* comma after Velasques.
- 234, — 17, *for* Father de St. Nicolas, *read* Father Pato of St. Nicolas.
- 281, — 6, *for* as the acts, *read* at the acts.
23, *for* captivating, *read* captivate.
- 312, — 9, *for* disowning, *read* disown.
- 327, — 30, *dele* were conferred upon him.
- 360, — 4, *for* St. Ildefonso, and Alcala, *read* St. Ildefonso d'Alcala.
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